

IN THESE TIMES

Two new
French films
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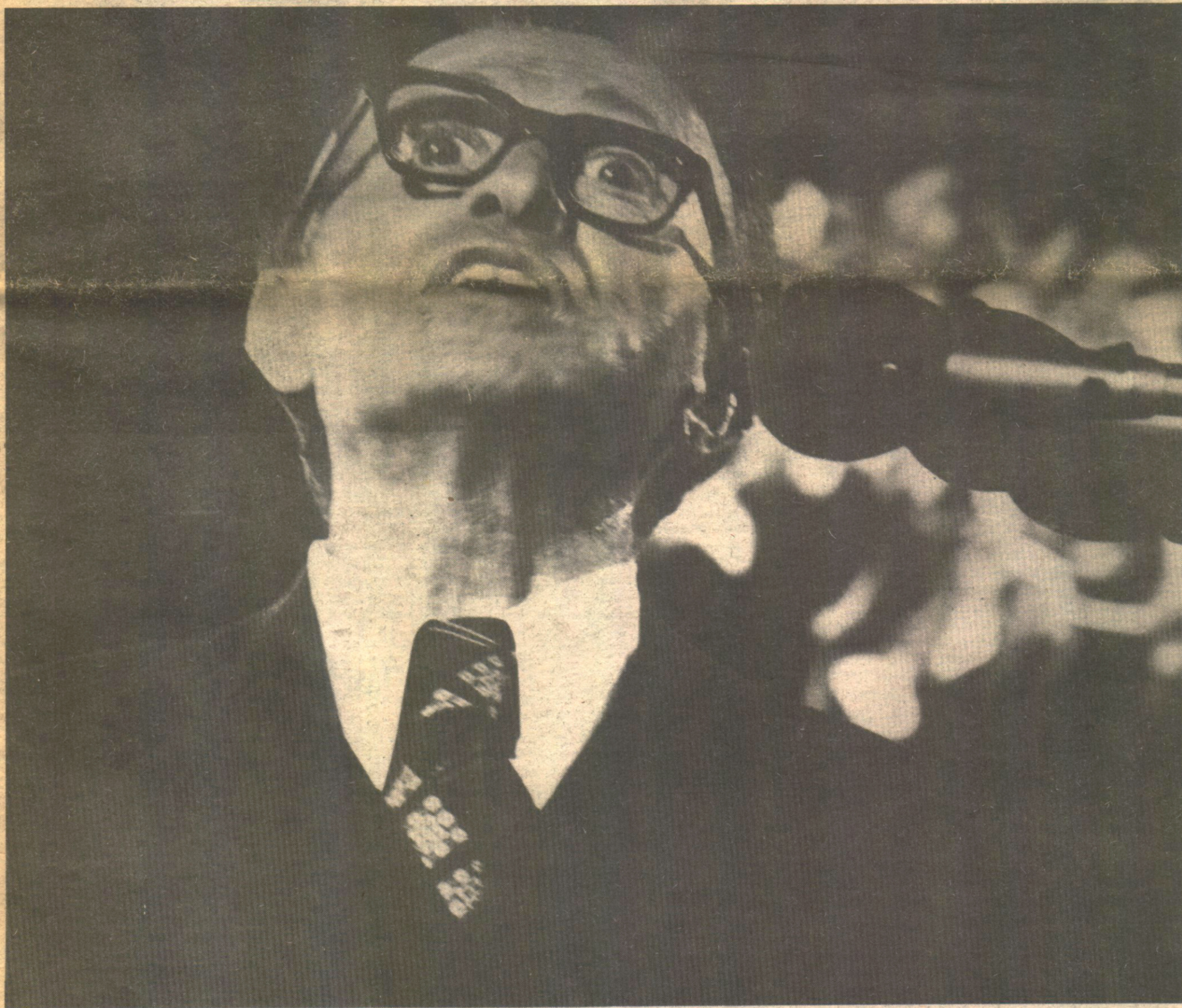
Oct. 12-18, 1977

40 Cents

Israel's pre-occupied territories

Will settlement
begin—
or won't
Begin settle?

Photo by Gideon Gitai



Prime Minister Menachim Begin. See page 11.

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THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS



Sens. Howard Metzenbaum and James Abourezk walk outside the Senate chamber during their filibuster against natural gas deregulation.

Carter's magical mystery program

After being asked during 20 years of periodic energy "crises" to make one sacrifice or another to exorcise the foreign oil demon, many Americans have come to view such pronouncements with cynicism. But Jimmy Carter's energy program, introduced last spring amidst dire warnings of dwindling world oil resources, invited not merely cynicism but also a certain dismay.

- The program is predicated on a highly questionable CIA study of world oil resources, conveniently released the same week that Carter introduced his program. The study's findings of declining oil reserves after 1985 are contradicted by several previous studies and by subsequent studies of the International Trade Commission and the Stanford Research Institute.

- Its announced purpose, based on the dubious CIA findings, is to curb oil imports, but besides offering some measures to limit oil consumption *per se*, it does little to curb imports. Estimates by the General Accounting Office and a nine month Library of Congress study show an expected increase, even under the Carter program, in oil imports.

- The principal means by which it would limit imports is conservation, but according to a study by the Congressional Budget Office, released in June, the proposed taxes on gas-guzzling cars and on gasoline would have little effect on gasoline consumption. "There has been a great deal of talk about sacrifice and the moral equivalent of war, but one does not really see this in the plan," Alice M. Rivlin, director of the budget office declared.

There is therefore reason to wonder what Carter is after.

Nuclear gambit.

One explanation, suggested by Barry Commoner's analysis of the Carter program, is that the oil scare is intended to overcome objections to an expanded nuclear power program. (See *ITT*, July 20.) Commoner has shown that nuclear power is the hidden variable in Carter's projec-

tion of 1985 energy output.

According to administration figures, the contribution from oil, gas, coal, and solar energy adds up to only 83.6 quads of an expected energy budget of 101 quads. The remaining power would have to come from 300 nuclear power plants. As only 62 are presently in operation, a breakneck effort will be necessary.

There is little chance that 300 could be built by 1985, but the administration's sloppy arithmetic nevertheless reveals its intentions. Carter has announced that he will submit a "Nuclear Regulatory Reform Act" that will speed federal approval of nuclear plants by giving states the sole authority to determine whether they are "environmentally acceptable."

While playing up cuts in nuclear research and the cancellation of the Clinch River project, the administration still makes nuclear energy development its top priority. In early September, it asked Congress for \$6.46 billion for nuclear research compared to \$587.4 million for research into coal and \$298.3 million for solar.

President's imprimatur.

An additional explanation for Carter's program, suggested by historian Carl Parrini, is that it is a pretext for introducing national economic planning. According to Parrini, one wing of American corporate leaders have become convinced that planning is essential to ensuring investment outlets for their capital. The other wing continue to argue for freeing the market from government planners and regulators.

In the February issue of *Fortune*, Thornton Bradshaw, the president of Atlantic Richfield, and a prominent planning exponent, published an article entitled "My Case for National Planning." Bradshaw attacks the "myth of American free enterprise" and argues that government planning is essential to corporate survival.

Citing the need to conserve energy and to finance new energy developments, Bradshaw insists that "there is no way the 'free' market can direct industry to accomplish that goal. What we need is a comprehensive national energy policy—and this means national planning by the only instrument that represents all sectors of society and is capable of developing such a policy." Describing the multitude of critical energy questions that face American industry, he concludes, "Decisions of such magnitude can only be made at the highest level of government, with the imprimatur of the President."

Bradshaw was a member of Jimmy Carter's campaign task force on energy and of his transition team on defense planning. His *Fortune* article was probably an opening salvo to the business community.

Carter as planner.

Carter's plan for reorganizing the energy industry and the specifics of his energy proposal embody Bradshaw's approach to corporate planning. If accepted, the program would establish a new beachhead for national planning within the executive branch of government.

Carter's reorganization bill, which he submitted on March 1, consolidated research and development, administration and regulatory functions within a new Department of Energy. Most significantly, the new department would assume the regulatory functions previously performed by the Federal Power, Securities and Exchange, and Interstate Commerce Commissions. It could set prices for oil and gas, regulate the flow of oil and gas and shipment of coal, and approve or disapprove mergers.

Commissions are quasi-independent bodies whose long-term appointees outlast presidential terms. Federal Power Commission recommendations are subject to presidential or congressional veto. Shifting these functions into the Cabinet would remove them from congressional veto and subject them to the coordinated plans of the executive.

Carter's mid-April energy program added the specifics: oil and natural gas prices would continue to be controlled, and intrastate as well as interstate gas prices would now be subject to federal control. In addition, utility regulation would come partly under federal guidelines to be formulated by the Department of Energy.

Most important of all, the energy program would put the federal government in the business of regulating the shape and size and determining the future of a key segment of American industry.

No new kings.

This attempt to institute planning provided the basis for some of the subsequent fights between Carter and Congress.

His plan for reorganization encountered opposition on the crucial provision: the assumption by the Department of Energy of the Federal Power Commission's authority. With freemarket advocates uniting with congressional opponents of enhanced executive power, Carter's proposal did not stand a chance.

Even John D. Dingell (D-Mich.), who had stood by Carter in his role as chairman of the House subcommittee on energy and power, abandoned ship over the question of executive power. "The age of kings expired with the French revolution," Dingell exclaimed during the House debate. "And I beg you not set up a new king here in Washington."

The House and Senate passed the proposal for a Department of Energy but retained an independent commission, subject to congressional or presidential veto, that would set prices. It was Carter's first serious defeat.

Regulation vs. deregulation.

His second serious defeat may have come in the Senate, which recently passed a proposal deregulating natural gas and limiting the Department of Energy to a merely advisory role in relation to the state utilities.

In both these cases, more was at stake than national planning. While Carter's plan for placing a ceiling of \$1.75 per thousand cubic feet from the former ceiling of \$1.46 would have substantially raised heating costs, deregulation would cost the consumer an additional \$76 billion, according to the Congressional Budget Office. Federal utility regulation could also have cushioned the effect of raised prices on consumers by concentrating them on industrial users.

It was on the cost of living issue that Senators James G. Abourezk and Howard M. Metzenbaum staged their filibuster.

But unlike Abourezk and Metzenbaum, Carter was willing to support a compromise measure by Henry M. Jackson that would have raised prices to \$2.03 per thousand cubic feet. This price approaches the gas companies' present price for intrastate gas not subject to interstate regulation. The main issue now between Carter and the deregulation forces is regulation itself. Neither side is willing to compromise.

Carter's action on the natural gas debate indicates that the most important issue for him is the power to regulate rather than the price at which gas is regulated. He has threatened to veto the deregulation proposal if it gets through the House-Senate committee.

Carter's program may be dealt still another blow if the tax on crude oil does not even come up for a vote because of opposition to it within the Senate Finance committee. Carter has already hinted that he would not veto a bill in which the power to tax was retained, but the revenues were rebated to oil companies rather than consumers.

When the Senate version of the energy bill goes to the joint House-Senate committee, Carter can be expected to trade the particular interests of consumers for the principle of economic planning and the power to engage in it.

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Photos by Robert Schaeffer, courtesy of Friends of the Earth

Reclaiming the land for people



Enforcement of the Reclamation Act of 1902 would break up the large corporate farms into family sized chunks. For the first time in 75 years, the law may get enforced.

Water is the name of the game in the western half of the U.S.—particularly when it comes to agriculture. Outside of the Pacific Northwest, very little of the western U.S. gets more than 20 inches of rain a year, considered the minimum for non-irrigated agriculture.

Yet, this is one of the richest agricultural areas of the nation.

Active intervention by the federal government in the forms of massive capital spending for dams, aqueducts, pumps and canals is what has made this possible. Only the federal government was capable of mobilizing the resources to turn the vast stretches of arid, near-desert land into rich, productive farm land.

Since the beginnings of this vast undertaking the question of who was going to benefit from this federal intervention has plagued federal water projects. It is in this context that a little-known 75-year-old federal statute—the Reclamation Act of 1902—may play a decisive role in shaping the future of agriculture in the West.

Pushed by President Teddy Roosevelt, the 1902 law was intended, in the words of its sponsor, Rep. Francis G. Newlands (Nev.), “to guard against land monopoly and to hold the land in small tracts for the people of the entire country.”

Roosevelt defended the law before San Francisco’s Commonwealth Club in 1911 by saying, “I wish to save the very wealthy men of this country and their advocates and upholders from the ruin they would bring upon themselves if they were permitted to have their way. I wish to secure this country against ever seeing the time when the ‘have-nots’ shall rise against the ‘haves.’”

Ownership/residency restrictions.

The act provides that in federal irrigation projects: “No right to the use of water for land in private ownership shall be sold for a tract exceeding 160 acres to any one landowner, and no such sale shall be made to any landowner unless he be an actual bona fide resident on such land, or occupant thereof residing in the neighborhood of said land...”

A landowner, according to the statute, could not obtain more than 160 acres worth of subsidized water per family member, with a limit of 480 acres for a family farm (husband, wife and one child).

It also contained an anti-speculation provision. A landowner could irrigate his “excess land” (over 160 acres), if he contracted with the federal government to sell

his excess within 10 years at the pre-irrigation value.

This 1902 act set the rules for all future reclamation projects.

Landowners have lobbied Congress and requested exemption from the provisions many times since its enactment, only to lose every time as opinion was mobilized against them. Instead, Congress has several times extended and toughened the act’s provisions.

Law not enforced.

Nonetheless, provisions supporting the family farm have only rarely been enforced. The problem has been with the Bureau of Reclamation and the Interior department, which have been more sympathetic to the needs of large, often corporate, landowners and have generally ignored or failed to enforce the Reclamation Act’s provisions.

Enforcement of the Reclamation Act would have dramatic consequences for western agriculture, which has been dominated by large landholdings and corporate agribusiness since the first European invasions. Railroads like the Southern Pacific—the largest private landowner in several western states—for instance, received large land grants in exchange for building tracks to open up the West to settlers. These grants generally included a stipulation that the land was to be sold to settlers, something that never occurred.

The Westlands Water District in California’s San Joaquin Valley—the site of much of the recent controversy over enforcement of the 1902 statute—is a good example. The district’s farms generate more money than the combined crop and livestock sales of eight states, but the land is dominated by a few companies with enormous acreages. Southern Pacific owns 106,000 acres; Standard Oil of California owns 10,000 acres; a member of Safeway’s board of directors owns 23,000 acres; Producers Cotton Oil Co., a subsidiary of the conglomerate Bangor Punta, owns 10,000 acres and leases 7,000 more; private landowner Russell Giffen, the subject of several court suits involving the 1902 law, owns more than 77,000 acres. Anderson-Clayton, Getty Oil, and the *Los Angeles Times*’ parent corporation also own land in the Westlands.

Enforcement of the law would force many of these corporate giants to sell their land in family farm-sized units, something they have consistently refused to do.

Continued on page 18.

LABOR

Dissident Teamsters meet



Harry Patrick, outgoing secretary-treasurer of the mineworkers (left), with Al Ferdnace of the TDU steering committee.

While still miniscule compared to the union as a whole, Teamsters for a Democratic Union has made gains.

By Dan Marschall
CLEVELAND—At the tender age of one year, the fledgling Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) is struggling to its feet, screaming at the union's tightly-knit official family, and kicking them in the shins whenever possible.

TDU's second national convention here Sept. 24-25 reflected extraordinary progress in their efforts to build an activist rank and file organization with the power to cleanse the union of ingrained corruption and restore a measure of internal democracy.

While still miniscule in comparison with the 2.2 million member International Brotherhood of Teamsters—TDU now claims 2,000 dues-paying members nationally, about 350 of whom attended the convention from 24 states and Canada—the organization took significant organizational steps in the last year, becoming a

recognized threat to the besieged empire of Teamster president Frank Fitzsimmons.

The convention was more broadly representative than their first national gathering, including a notable contingent of women as well as grocery workers from St. Louis, UPS workers from Chicago, more road drivers, delegates from California, and some members of PROD, another Teamster reform group. In Los Angeles Local 208, for instance, some 1,500 Teamsters in one barn bought raffle tickets to send area representatives to Cleveland.

TDU also recruited the top officers of British Columbia Local 213, with 8,700 members, the largest in Canada. Since Jack Vlahovik and other reformers won three executive board positions in January 1977, they have been under constant attack from International vice-president Ed Lawson, the most powerful Teamster in Canada.

After beating back one set of charges and a move to carve up the local, Vlahovik was deprived of his secretary-treasurer slot, fined \$10,000 and barred from holding Teamster office for life. Local members, protesting the expulsion, have demanded Lawson's resignation at massive general meetings and are threatening a

province-wide strike unless Vlahovik is reinstated.

The Local 213 battle, which TDU views as a typical example of how the union stifles dissent, is particularly important because the local expects to gain 5,000 new members when a natural gas pipeline is constructed through the province.

In Detroit, TDU successfully fought the expulsion of Pete Camarata of Local 299, the most publicized TDU leader. Months after visiting a picketline of striking car-haulers, Camarata was accused and tried for "conduct unbecoming a union member." He is now on probation. The real purpose of the action, Camarata says, was to divert attention from the chapter's campaign to reform local by-laws.

Camarata is running for vice-president this fall of Local 299, the pivot of Teamster power, in opposition to Fitzsimmons' son, Richard.

TDU is also fielding candidates pledged to rank and file democracy in Detroit Local 337, Pittsburgh Local 341, and Los Angeles Local 208. Their electoral successes will be one indication of TDU's support among rank and file Teamster members.

As legal backup for their organizing TDU has developed a network of 75 law-

yers around the country and started a non-profit foundation to educate the rank and file about their legal rights, publish relevant booklets and provide legal defense. The foundation has already raised \$30,000.

Delegates received a psychological boost from the appearance of Harry Patrick, outgoing secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers, who discussed experiences in building the Miners for Democracy and ousting the regime of Tony Boyle.

"I'm breaking ranks with traditional labor leaders," Patrick declared, recognizing the unprecedented nature of an existing union officer expressing solidarity with a dissident group in another union.

The convention also attracted prominent media coverage, including front-page stories in Cleveland's daily newspapers and local television reports. Reporters from the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, while emphasizing the meeting's sparse attendance and a counter-demonstration by Cleveland Teamster boss Jackie Presser and 300 supporters, noted its serious, determined nature and the TDU's growing influence in the union. *Business Week* reported that their "confrontation politics" had already "pricked Teamster leaders" and "is gaining more support from once-skeptical drivers."

TDU's future actions will apparently revolve around electoral campaigns for local office and the initiation of a national campaign, along with a federal court law suit, to win the right to vote on international officers. Their immediate targets are the 1979 Master Freight Agreement, the single largest in the union, covering 450,000 long-haul drivers, and the 1981 Teamster national convention, where they hope to bring a sizeable contingent of delegates.

TDU national secretary Ken Paff predicts that Fitzsimmons will resign during his current term due to rank and file pressure and governmental investigations. While another official will be ready to take his place, Paff believes that the top-level shake-up will open space for TDU and other reformers to democratize the union, as well as bring about key revelations concerning inner-union corruption.

"We're putting a lot of heat on Fitz and every other officer," adds Mel Packer, Pittsburgh TDU. "And now Fitz is going. He's turned into a liability for them, he's too embarrassing, and they're going to dump him. But we're not going to be satisfied with just Fitz. Our problem is not just one big fat rat loose in the kitchen. The IBT has a good case of cockroaches and we're going to play exterminator."

PRISONS

Prison affirmative action programs under fire

A California judge has negated a program to hire more minority prison guards.

By Mark Shwartz
Pacific News Service
SACRAMENTO, CA—The 1960s principle of "affirmative action"—already under fire at the university level—has come under a second legal attack, this time amidst the mounting racial violence that has plagued California prisons for over a decade.

The battle hinges on a San Francisco county judge's order, due to become final this month, forbidding state prison administrators from considering race, sex or national origin when hiring or promoting employees.

The ruling may affect minorities and

women throughout the country, since the case is expected to eventually reach the U.S. Supreme Court. (The high court has already agreed to consider the controversial *Bakke* case in which a white male student applicant charged the University of California with reverse discrimination.)

But the suit against the California Department of Corrections (CDC) may have more immediate life-and-death consequences. Since 1968, 184 California convicts have been fatally stabbed, beaten, strangled or shot—in many cases the result of racial tensions. This year alone 12 prisoners have been killed in California prisons in apparent acts of racial retaliation.

Of the state's 20,500 convicts, about 45 percent are white, 34 percent black and 19 percent Mexican-American.

In an effort to reduce the racial violence the Department of Corrections has been attempting to increase the percentage of non-white staff to approximate the convict percentage statewide. Since 1965 minority representation among California prison

guards has increased from 6 percent to 26 percent.

Guards oppose affirmative action.

State prisons director J. J. Enomoto's belief that employing more non-white guards and women will help alleviate racial violence stems in part from his own experience as a prisoner. He served 18 months in various California "relocation camps" established by the American government during World War II for the detention of thousands of Japanese-Americans.

"I can't help but have some personal feelings about the necessity for affirmative kinds of help for minorities and women," Enomoto says. "When you figure that over 50 percent of our prison population is black or brown, why shouldn't there be a fair representation of that in our department?"

But two white male guards disagreed with Enomoto and asked the California Correctional Officers Association (CCOA) to file suit. The CCOA—which represents

over 90 percent of the state's 4,100 uniformed prison guards—charged the department with reverse discrimination and alleged that Enomoto:

- encouraged a panel of job interviewers to give preference to minorities and women when determining civil service test scores;
- promoted a black female parole agent over an allegedly superior white male candidate;
- made certain positions open only to female or Mexican-American applicants;
- and approved unnecessary requirements for bi-lingualism when filling certain positions.

The CCOA took its case to court and won a decision early this year by San Francisco Superior Court Judge Byron Arnold, who declared the department's affirmative action policy unconstitutional.

The ruling stunned prison administrators who feared the court order would perpetuate racial strife among convicts and staff as well. *Continued on page 6.*

By Dan Marshall
Staff Writer

LABOR

Youngstown steel plant deliberately abandoned

YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO—At the heart of "America's Ruhr Valley," the Mahoning River Valley in Ohio, lies the Campbell Works of Youngstown Sheet and Tube Co., a reddish, pulsating mass of blast furnaces, coke ovens, open hearths and rolling mills that occupies over 100 acres along the river.

For factory workers here, producing steel is not just a nine-to-five job, but a source of pride and a way of life that begins at the mill and extends into the neighborhood bar, the corner church and the local union hall. Despite warning signs, few expected that it could perish so abruptly.

The fatal announcement came on Sept. 19—"Black Monday"—when the Lykes Corp., a shipping/mining/manufacturing conglomerate based in New Orleans, decided to close most of its steelmaking facilities around Youngstown, dumping 5,000 out of 8,500 workers.

The corporation charged that foreign steel imports and environmental controls necessitated the shutdown. But conversations with steelworkers, local political figures and lower-level union officials reveal that their decision was actually the last step in a series of moves by Lykes that had steadily drained profits and investment from the Youngstown operations to other parts of their business.

"The day after the announcement, there was a blood donors drive in Campbell," says Duane Irving, a young grievance man in United Steel Workers local 1418. "People said they wished Lykes were here now so they could draw blood from them like they took it from us."

Two weeks after the company's sudden decree, the residents of Campbell and Struthers—the two towns surrounding the mill—were still stunned and discouraged. The term "ghost town" was most often used to describe the region's economic future.

Total hatred.

Shirley Richards had heard it all. A stocky, blond-haired woman, she operates "Shirley's Place," a tiny tavern up the hill from the main entrance of the Campbell Works and across the street from the split-level union hall of USW local 2163.

She blames both union and management for the problem and resents the callous refusal of the Carter administration to help. "People had an inkling something like this was coming, but still thought that it would be years before it all went to hell. Their first reaction was shock, then bewilderment and then anger. Their attitude towards Lykes: total hatred," she explains.

According to Andy Ragan, a first helper in an open hearth furnace, this shutdown and others like it around the country are a "politically motivated" attempt by the steel companies to blackmail the government into providing Lockheed-like subsidies and higher quotas on imported steel. Mismanagement at the "upper echelons" of Lykes is primarily responsible, he believes, though other factors played a role.

"I hated to see a diversified company like Lykes take over," he recalls. "They just let the place go to hell. They haven't been buying spare parts like they should. The men had to improvise. Lykes drained it dry. They took all the money and put in nothing for improvements."

Middle-aged men like Ragan will be particularly hard hit; they're too old to readily find another job, too young to qualify for a pension, and usually have a family to support and a home mortgage to pay. He worked in the mill for 29 years, nine months and 22 days and thus may not even be eligible for his 30-year pension.

Things began to fall apart.

The gradual deterioration of Sheet and Tube equipment was especially obvious to the plant's maintenance crew. Lykes spent an average of \$27 million on the Youngstown facilities from 1970 to 1973, "little more than enough to cover the cost of basic maintenance of the furnaces," estimates *Business Week*.

Wilford Brown, a 25-year-old black man, had labored there for seven years as an electrician in open hearth maintenance. Unlike many of his fellow workers, he has been promised a chemical plant job in



Kenny Bernard, one of the first to be affected by closing, at the local union hall.

Headline, Ala., and is happy at the chance to leave the area. "There's no future here and we all knew it. You could see it coming," he says.

"The first five years, we were working steady. Then we were off all the time and things began to fall apart. In the last few years they've cut expenses in every department by scrapping machines and offing people. It was like the difference between night and day."

"They drained this place to the extent that everything needs to be worked on. I've seen breakdowns where foremen told me to go make the parts myself. They stopped keeping the machines clean—there was oil and grease all over the place. I had to clean up the grease before I could even get to the machines."

Those supposedly responsible for stopping such company practices, the union and the government, just spend their time passing the buck, he charges. "The company just ran it until it fell apart, and now

they're throwing it away. This place is dead—everything but the casket."

Company ties/union cooperation.

The union, in close cooperation with the steel industry, is pushing for higher import quotas. At one press conference, Youngstown's mayor wondered whether the U.S. had really won World War II, and a local union officer proposed a campaign to encourage local housewives to wear buttons with the slogan: "I'm shopping for American products."

Not all officials are satisfied with the union's current efforts, however. Russell Baxter, president of Local 2163, is infuriated at the lies of company representatives, the inaction of international officers and the empty rhetoric of the governor and other politicians. "Lloyd McBride [USW president] cares no more for 5,000 people than the man in the moon," he declares. Two-thirds of his local will be wiped out by the layoffs.

"The international has a huge strike and defense fund. If they're so concerned why don't they give each person [laid off here] \$5,000 to help them through? Our district director hasn't called me since this thing started, and he's never returned my calls."

Weeks before the announcement, Baxter and other union officials were assured by the company that rumors of a shutdown were "categorically false."

Draining the company.

The perspective from inside the plant—that Lykes intended to drain the place and then discard it—is backed up by press accounts and company statements over the years. One Youngstown researcher, who has spent weeks combing area newspapers and management journals, argues that the shutdown is due to outright manipulation by the Lykes Corporation.

The 1969 merger that led to Lykes taking over the steel operations was heralded as a financial coup, he says, since Youngstown Sheet and Tube was six times bigger than Lykes. Wall Street analysts questioned, however, the acumen of a capital-intensive company buying another capital-intensive business.

Lykes' rationale is suggested by a statement immediately after the merger: "We will not hesitate to use the \$100 million Sheet and Tube cash flow for other purposes if our view of the future of steel should change." Those "other purposes," *Business Week* recently revealed, were in electronics and insurance, which Lykes hoped to expand into.

"The conglomerate's steel acquisitions were seen as cash boxes for corporate growth in other areas," continues *Business Week*.

Lykes initially promised to retain the same management structure at Sheet and Tube, but carried out top level shake-ups in 1970 that removed local managers and replaced them with Lykes executives. Though Sheet and Tube was already an integrated company—with holdings in coal mines, raw material sources and transportation systems—Lykes chopped it up into separate "divisions," requiring that each make a profit on its own.

"But how could Sheet and Tube, without its subsidiaries, be expected to compete with the more modern, giant steel companies?" asks the Youngstown researcher. Company problems, press reports point out, were also exacerbated by confused transportation systems and inefficient hauling of iron ore over long distances.

Not profitable enough.

Despite problems, company officials admit that their Youngstown plants have been more profitable than their Indiana Harbor Works, where Youngstown production is to be shifted. Comparative profit figures show that their Chicago district lost money in three out of four fiscal years while the Youngstown facilities made a profit.

Then why shut the Mahoning Valley plants? Because, in the words of a company spokesman, the suspended operations "haven't been profitable [enough] in recent years" and expenditures for environmental protections are "disproportionately larger" for older mills like the Campbell Works. They also criticize government jawboning of steel prices, which "have resulted in *de facto* price controls over the past 15 years" and in "steady and persistent erosion of our profit margin."

As a financial consultant told the *Wall Street Journal*: "The emerging strategy of *de facto* liquidation will maximize the industry's chances for realizing the huge profit potentials that have eluded them for so long."

Campbell mayor Mike Katula, whose father and grandfather worked in the mills, hopes to compel Lykes to fulfill its obligation to local residents by at least tearing down the vacant plants and donating the property to the town for new industry.

"What we're dealing with is a multifaceted corporation," he says. "They don't care about people. All they're looking for is profits. They deal with industries like pieces on a checker board. Lykes milked this plant dry and put the profits elsewhere. Now they're getting rid of the cow."



Attorney William Kunstler addressing protest rally at Kent State University.

STUDENTS

Continuing protests at Kent State

KENT STATE, OHIO—To observe the spirit of the people who came here to rally against construction of a gymnasium annex on the site of the 1970 shootings of anti-war protestors, one might never guess that the construction had begun a week earlier.

On Sept. 24 some 2,000 people assembled in an open grass field in the center of the Kent State campus, just as others did seven years ago when fate and the Ohio National Guard corralled them into a bloody limelight. Their collective energy buoyed by speakers and the arrival of student delegations from as far away as Wisconsin, the protestors staged an impressive march around campus.

The day ended with a mass defiance of a court order—400 of the marchers demolished the fence surrounding the construction site and stalked in. Campus police filmed the action from the rooftops of nearby buildings, wisely choosing not to attempt to halt the uprising.

On July 23, 194 coalition members had passively resisted their removal from a "Tent City" they had built and lived in for two months on the shooting site known as "Blanket Hill." The busts not only focused national attention on the issue; they shifted the struggle's emphasis into an ill-fated courtroom ping-pong match.

After several temporary restraining orders bounced back and forth, ground was first broken on "Blanket Hill" on July 29. An appeals court issued yet another restraining order that afternoon, and construction equipment moved out for another six weeks while the back-and-forth process spiraled its way to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Justice William Brennan finally lifted the last restraining order on Sept. 6, say-

ing that the construction was not a constitutional question.

At no point did the opposing coalition's leadership have much faith that the judicial route would do more than delay the bulldozers long enough to rally the students returning for the fall term. Then, it was hoped, the sympathetic student body could be mobilized against the university administration.

University and local law enforcers responded in other ways. KSU floated indications of a willingness to compromise in the media at the same time that its lawyers were hammering away at getting construction started as soon as possible.

Coalition leaders were routinely arrested in what a sheriff's deputy reportedly admitted was an effort to "break the coalition financially." Four coalition activists and an attorney, for example, were nabbed for disorderly conduct upon leaving a Kent tavern in which they were celebrating a legal victory.

Bonds ranged from \$2,000 to \$3,000 each in the mass arrest of 65 persons who sat down to block the dawn arrival of the construction equipment that came to break ground last July. Those who have since stood trial have received maximum sentences, in addition to orders from the judges to stay off the KSU campus and have nothing to do with the May 4th Coalition.

Many students have become disheartened. And while the U.S. Interior department takes months to consider a pending application to designate Blanket Hill a national historic site, the university is legally unfettered in its notion to build the gym there.

Bob Datz is a freelance writer who was 20 feet from being killed as a Kent State freshman.



A protester at the construction site. Behind him on rooftop are campus police photographing demonstrators.

Photos by Bob Datz

Prison workers

Continued from page 4.

Low morale and resentment.

"I think the issue certainly has caused low morale and resentment," said San Quentin prison spokesman Del Pehrson. "But implementation of affirmative action was a necessary step. Unfortunately it has split the department along racial lines. 'I always thought everyone wearing green [uniforms] should be on the same side.'"

Department of Corrections spokesman Philip Guthrie agrees and blames the current crisis on the officers association. "CCOA is primarily white. A lot of white guards have a high degree of prejudice, maybe out of ignorance. They feel it is unfair that race is used as a basis in hiring correctional officers."

Guthrie's legal opponent, CCOA director Kenneth Brown, agrees that affirmative action has lowered morale among guards, but vigorously opposes what he calls an effort to establish quotas.

"I think there's a backlash," Brown says. "We are saying two wrongs don't make a right. We sometimes feel it perpetuates racism to conduct reverse racial policies."

Brown argues that additional minority guards do not ease racial problems. "We had an expert psychiatrist from Syracuse, N.Y., testify that blacks don't necessarily deal best with blacks, browns with browns and so on."

Brown adds, "We encourage aggressive recruitment of minorities and also encourage minority training. But qualification and only qualification should be the sole criterion for hiring... We're saying the Constitution is color-blind."

Correctional Sgt. Marshall Perkins, a member of the United Black Correctional Workers, doesn't buy the "reverse racism" argument. "I hate to see the courts stop affirmative action programs," he says. "They've always been in effect, but for the benefit of the white male. Entrance tests lean toward his background."

Now a peer group.

Perkins, also a CCOA member, adds, "There are a helluva lot more minority personnel now than six years ago. Back then, few minorities would stay in the system. Because of hostility from other white guards they felt ostracized. This was coupled with the hostility they felt from the inmates eight hours a day. Consequently, many blacks and Mexicans left the department for better paying jobs."

"The hostility has diminished today, somewhat," he says. "You now have a

peer group you can rap with about your problems, and some white officers are less aggressive when they have to deal with a group instead of an individual."

Of the 475 uniformed guards employed at San Quentin, 76 percent are white (compared to 41 percent of the convicts), 18 percent black and 4 percent Chicano. About 6 percent are female.

Christine Horylev, one of San Quentin's 28 women officers, says she can understand the feeling of anyone qualified who is turned down because of affirmative action requirements. But sometimes you have to sacrifice for the better long-term benefit."

Horylev began work nine months ago and does everything her fellow male guards do except strip-searches of prisoners. She works one day a week in the watchtower where she handles weapons, but she has never worked inside a cell-block because the prisoners protested it as an invasion of privacy.

"Women are trained to talk their way out of situations rather than fight," she says, "so we are able to arbitrate peaceable solutions to conflicts where perhaps men are not. Being a woman in my work may be an advantage in bringing out the best in men."

Horylev hopes the latest court ruling will be reversed. "Because of affirmative action, opinions have changed quite a bit. Men who were dead set against it when I started work here now say there are a lot of good women officers. I've been really lucky to meet a lot of men who've gone out of their way to help me."

San Quentin Lt. Richard Martinez—a member of the Chicano Correctional Workers Association—believes Judge Arnold's ruling will not halt affirmative action.

"It really doesn't bother me," the lieutenant says. "I'm on the recruiting team here and we're going to continue spending quite a bit of time hitting at the Chicano community. It's going to take a long time."

But black officer Marshall Perkins is less optimistic: "If the court order is upheld, the administration won't strive to move qualified minority personnel upward. As far as San Quentin goes, the bulk of promotions here still go to white males."

Mark Shwartz, for several years a Bay Area radio and television reporter on California criminal justice, is a member of PNS's foundation-funded urban task force of scholars and journalists.

American slain in Chile with U.S. complicity, family suit charges

WASHINGTON—The parents and widow of Charles Horman, a young American journalist who was killed in Chile during the September 1973 coup that installed a military junta in Santiago, have filed a \$4,540,000 suit in U.S. district court here against 11 former and present government officials, including Henry A. Kissinger and Nathaniel Davis, the American ambassador to Chile in 1973.

The suit charges that American officials failed to secure Horman's release after he had been picked up by Chilean military authorities on Sept. 17, 1973, and that, in fact, some American officials "encouraged, suggested, and/or actually requested" that the Chilean junta arrest and execute Horman.

Other sources have previously indicated that American intelligence units in Santiago had prepared an arrest list for use by Chilean military forces when they took power. (ITT, Aug. 24.)

The suit also contends that American officials withheld knowledge of Horman's status, and that they have continued to cover up the facts of his death over the past four years.

Horman went to Chile in 1973 to make films and later established a news service. At the time of his death, at age 31, he had been investigating the assassi-

nation of a high military official in the Allende government.

On the day of the coup, he learned from an American Navy officer that the American government had advance knowledge of the Chilean military's plans to overthrow the Allende government.

Horman's mother, Elizabeth, said in Washington last week that her son had been murdered "because he knew too much," and that an unidentified American official had been present during her son's interrogation by Chilean military authorities.

She added that she, her husband Edmund and her son's widow Joyce had tried unsuccessfully to interest four congressional committees in the murder and that her letters to President Carter had been referred to the State department. "They hope it will go away," she said, "but Charles will not be forgotten."

Attorney Peter Weiss, who is handling the Horman suit as a representative of the New York-based Center for Constitutional Rights, indicated that he expected the government to move for immediate dismissal. He said, however, he would challenge any dismissal, and "looked forward" to beginning the process of taking depositions from officials named in the suit.

Jeff Stein is a reporter in Washington.

TRANSPORTATION

Freight emphasis doomed Amtrak

By Frank Browning
Pacific News Service

WHITE SULFUR SPRINGS, W.Va.—Just a few years ago thousands of eager vacationers used to board the C&O railroad's crack *George Washington* in New York for a genteel half-day ride to this mountain resort. They dined with linen and silver on a feast of wild game as the train swayed softly along lush Appalachian valleys up to within a few hundred yards of the old Greenbrier hotel.

Today, well-heeled vacationers still visit the Greenbrier, but they seldom arrive through the stately train station next door. There is a train, but the elegance of yesteryear has given way to the proximate comfort of a recently upholstered cattle car.

The disgruntled comments of train riders who remember the glory of the old *George Washington*, and scores of other trains like it, have been the daily fare of Amtrak officials since the quasi-governmental corporation started business in 1971.

Amtrak executives acknowledge that its trains' inconvenience, discomfort and tardy schedules are responsible for cutting into passenger patronage, and ultimately for adding to the company's mushrooming annual deficit—up to \$406 million last year.

Most Amtrak agents and officials simply grin and bear passenger complaints, contending the situation will improve once the company can buy new equipment to replace the 40-year-old cars used by most trains.

Like uncovering the CIA.

But one man at Amtrak has taken a different view of why passenger trains are so slow and uncomfortable. He is L. Fletcher Prouty, a former Air Force colonel who for 20 years helped the CIA run its secret global airline system until, in the early '70s, he began to blow the whistle on many of the agency's covert operations. Then he went to work for Amtrak.

"You know, finding out how passenger train service was ruined in America wasn't very different from uncovering CIA operation," Prouty says. "It takes the same kind of instinct for finding cover-ups and rip-offs."

Sometimes Prouty even refers to Am-

traks dilemma as "one of the biggest unreported scandals in America—the \$16 billion rip-off." For \$16.5 billion is what he says it would cost to bring back the comfortable, efficient passenger system he claims has been systematically and consciously destroyed by the private railroad corporations of the U.S.

"Do you ever wonder why our schedules are often slower now than they were 30 or 40 years ago?" Prouty asks rhetorically. "Do you ever wonder why it sometimes feels like you'll be thrown out of bed whenever the train takes a bend faster than 35 miles an hour?"

Those were the questions Prouty addressed as soon as he went to work for Amtrak in 1974. His investigation took him into long meetings with railroad engineers, track designers and repairmen.

What Prouty found was that all through the '50s the major railroad lines undertook reconstruction of their tracks that virtually eliminated the possibility of running smooth, high-speed passenger trains over them.

"Poor track maintenance is part of our problem," Prouty admits, but more important, he says, was the decision by the railroads after World War II to opt for super-long, heavy, slow-moving freight trains.

"What did that do?" Prouty asks. "It meant that on curves that had a very steep super-elevation designed for the old high-speed passenger trains, the slower freight trains would derail—actually fall off the track into the curve."

"The use of longer, heavier and higher freight cars is continuously being increased, and this required the American railroads to lower the maximum super-elevation being placed in curves," testified R. E. Tew, assistant chief engineer of the Seaboard Coast Line in hearings before the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) several years ago. His comments were echoed by most technical witnesses who appeared before the ICC.

Tracks privately owned.

Says Prouty, "All that technical jargon means that today when one of our passenger cars goes around the bend, it can no longer slide up into the elevated curve smoothly as it was designed to do, but instead bangs against the rail sideways until



Jane Meirick.

"You know, finding out how passenger train service was ruined in America wasn't very different from uncovering CIA operations," says L. Fletcher Prouty. Passenger service is worse than it was 40 years ago because of the deliberate choice of private railroads to emphasize long slow freight trains, he says.

the turn is completed. No amount of fancy suspension equipment can change that, make the ride smoother or allow us to run the train faster."

Since nearly all the trackage in the U.S. is still owned and maintained by the private railroads, Amtrak has no power to upgrade the track for faster traffic. For that reason, Prouty says, Amtrak may never be able to offer fast, comfortable service equal to what passengers had in the 1930s.

Amtrak's performance has come under increasingly sharp congressional criticism, the latest in an unpublicized report issued by the Government Accounting Office (GAO) last June.

Noting that Amtrak had spent over \$34 million in incentive payments to private railroads since 1974 to improve on time performance and maintenance quality, the GAO charged that the only improvement had resulted from "a more liberal defini-

tion of 'on time' and because of loosened schedules."

"The \$34 million in incentive payments had little effect on performance," the report concluded. GAO faulted Amtrak for altering schedules to provide longer running times, measuring on-time performance only at final destinations and not at intermediate stops, and relying on private railroad records for calculation of its incentive payments.

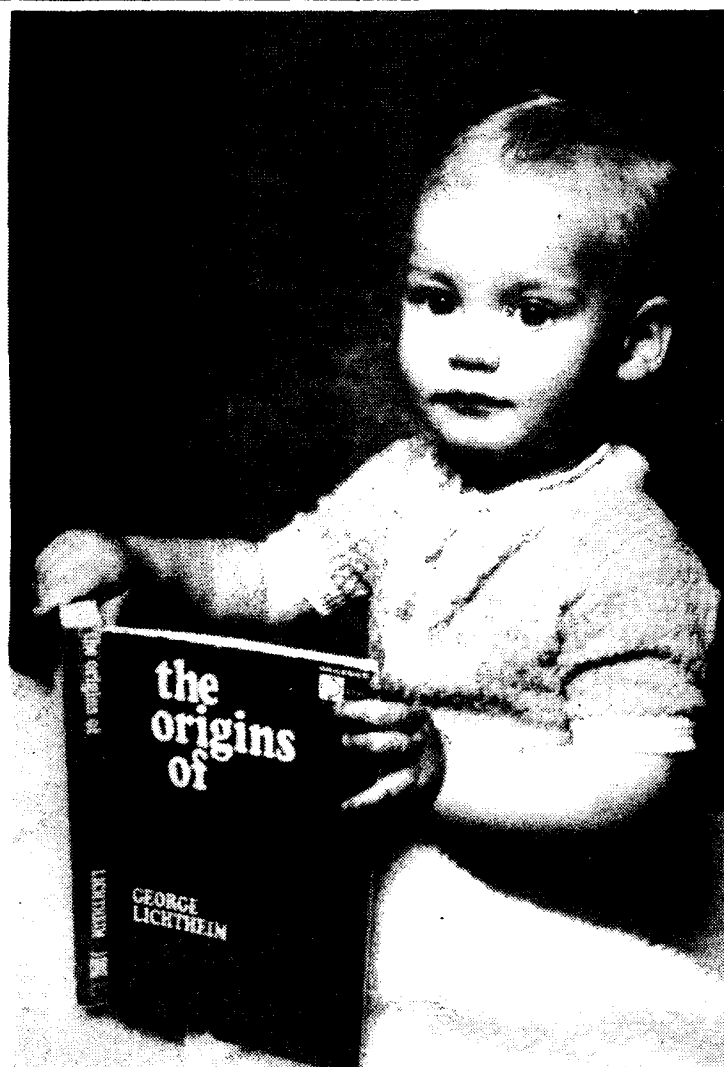
Typical of the GAO's criticism is a recent run between Los Angeles and New Orleans that arrived 45 minutes to an hour late at most stops but pulled into New Orleans 15 minutes early because the schedule allowed the train over four hours to travel 145 miles.

Frank Browning, an associate editor of PNS, has written for numerous national publications and has ridden every major train now running in America.

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CHINA

Are the essentials of Mao's revolution being discarded?

THERMIDOR IS THE NAME OF THE month on the French revolutionary calendar when Robespierre, who had taken the Revolution's attack against feudal property and inequality to its highest conclusion, was overthrown, and a conservative regime was installed.

By David Milton

After decades of revolutionary peasant war, the greatest agrarian land reform in history, the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution, is it possible in 1977 to speak of a Thermidorian reaction sweeping Peking? A conservative regime has emerged to rule over an exhausted post-Mao China.

One year after the death of China's greatest revolutionary leader, the structural reforms he introduced throughout a vast country are being dismantled. There are at least three elements of the Mao system that brook no compromise or revision without endangering the character of his comprehensive world view—the non-elite educational establishment, the independence of the People's Communes, and the tradition of popular checks on the power of the party and the government. These are precisely the realms that the new Peking regime seems most intent on purging of their Maoist content.

Out of a Soviet textbook.

The new priorities in Peking are order, unity and economic progress; whatever hinders these goals will come under attack from above. National entrance examinations for university admissions are now being introduced, and future students in the higher education network will be chosen on the basis of academic rather than political qualifications. Middle school students may still be required to do a two-year stint in the countryside, but once chosen for university slots they will be automatically absorbed into the new technological and political elite.

If it comes into being, a system based on a two-track program of education, one for the elites, and the other dispensing vocational and limited schooling for the masses, will signal the complete renunciation of the Maoist effort to eliminate the historic division between mental and manual labor.

New efforts to subordinate China's 600 million peasants to the control of urban planning centers are under way. According to party chairman Hua Kuo-feng, "The working class should transform in its own image the peasantry and the urban petit-bourgeoisie." This definitive pronouncement could have come out of a Soviet textbook. It prepares the way for the dominance of city over countryside, while at the same time renewing the classical Marxist distrust of the peasantry.

A national conference held in Kwangtung Province last summer discussed "Exchanging Experience in Motor Vehicle Repair and Parts Supply at Fixed Locations." Simply put, the idea is to establish a Chinese version of the Soviet Machine Tractor Stations. Stalin invented them not only to make more efficient use of scarce resources, but also to guarantee the Russian party centralized control over the countryside. Farm units not following the line of the central leadership had more trouble getting machinery and having it repaired.

The key sentence in the Kwangtung report spelling out the purpose of the Chinese version of Machine Tractor Stations

David Milton argues that China's new leaders are moving toward the Soviet model of socialism. Order, unity, and economic progress are the first priorities.

reads: "Vehicle spare parts which used to be sold at retail to dispersed consumers will now be distributed in a planned way to plants at fixed locations." The conference made it clear that the vehicle repair and spare parts plants could only be run well if leadership was carried out under the "centralized control" of "the party committees at all levels."

Mao Tse-tung consistently advocated decentralized power and the decision-making rights of the People's Communes.

The new leaders in Peking apparently understand that the commune system operates as a check on their power; that check must now either be weakened or removed. In the meantime the peasants are digging in their heels and the major cities are experiencing a shortage of eggs, vegetables and other foodstuffs that previously were in plentiful supply.

Twelve executions.

Everywhere, the party is looking for means to implement stricter controls and discipline over autonomous social groupings. Check-ups on work attendance in rural areas, "oath-taking ceremonies" of militia units and regular armymen aimed at bringing the part-time militia back under the control of the People's Liberation Army are reported in the Chinese press, and school conferences to re-establish teachers' authority over students are now the order of the day. To show that the new regime means business, 12 supporters of "the Gang of Four" were recently executed in Hunan Province for "counter-revolutionary activities."

Yu Chiu-li, chairman of the State Planning Commission, last summer called public attention to the general lack of discipline in Chinese factories and criticized the "over-democratization" of authority in industrial plants as standing in the way of economic growth. Too many people, Yu argues, have a say in factory management. "Special attention," he says, "should be paid to the two top leaders (the party secretary and the plant manager) in the enterprise." Yu Chiu-li's declaration amounts to a total repudiation of the Maoist policy of broadening worker participation in factory administration.

Last but not least, Chairman Hua has called for "the strengthening of the people's state apparatus," in particular, the army, the police and the courts. The Chinese state is moving rapidly to re-establish the internal state security system that had been practically abolished by the Cultural Revolution. The new internal security system will be led by Wang Tung-hsing, a rising power in the post-Mao regime.

Wang is a member of the standing committee of the Politbureau, a national vice-premier, and a member of the General Of-

fice of the Central Committee in charge of the most intimate personal files of all party leaders. His power parallels that once held by J. Edgar Hoover in the U.S. or Lavrentia Beria in the USSR. The main article in the *People's Daily* on the anniversary of Mao's death praised Wang's role as his intimate personal advisor.

Wang was Mao's body guard. He was responsible for arresting Chiang Ching and her three allies.

Teng rehabilitated.

Teng Hsiao-p'ing, having been rehabilitated to all his former posts—vice premier, vice chairman of the party, chief of staff of the People's Liberation Army, vice chairman of the Military Affairs Commission of the Central Committee—overshadows the colorless and relatively unknown Chairman Hua. Without question, Teng is the most popular leader in China today.

How is one to account for the fact that the man that Chiang Ch'ing once called "an unrepentant capitalist roader" is now the most respected official in the country? Probably it is due to the present mood of the Chinese people who are willing to follow a practical leader who is not afraid to say what he thinks, but refuse any longer to give their trust to an ideological leader like Chiang Ch'ing who has proven to be a hypocrite.

Among other more positive evaluations, historians will, no doubt, conclude that Mao's last years were not his best. Mao was the first Communist theoretician in power fully to understand the paradox built into Lenin's concept of the vanguard party. Mao saw that a political party enjoying a monopoly of power could turn into a privileged elite, ruling in its own interests. It was Chairman Mao who said that "under certain circumstances...a communist party can turn into...a fascist party," but Mao Tse-tung was never able to find a substitute for party rule.

In his last years, in the absence of any alternative, Mao reverted to the feudal politics forged out of 2,000 years of Chinese history. The books Nixon saw on the shelves of Mao's study contained the political history of the great emperors and the secrets of court politics.

As Mao turned on his own ministers after the Cultural Revolution the feudal schemes of court factions flooded the political arena. Chou En-lai was not the moderate described in the Western press, but the classic Chinese loyal minister who stood at Mao's side during the storms of the Cultural Revolution. Again and again Premier Chou attempted to put together political coalitions, only to have them smashed by Mao himself. Teng Hsiao-p'ing was elected to office by the Tenth

Party Congress and the Fourth People's Congress only to be removed and reviled by the arbitrary act of an aging emperor.

Ironically, Teng is now welcomed back by the people in the ancient tradition of respect for an honorable official unjustly dismissed. The Chinese people have had enough of factions. Suffering from the political wars caused by blood feuds, from the disasters of earthquakes and declining production, the people may look once more to an elite who can provide them with skillful economic leadership and the restoration of a normal life. With resignation the people must now feel that if they must again be ruled by an elite, let it at least be competent.

After the earthquake.

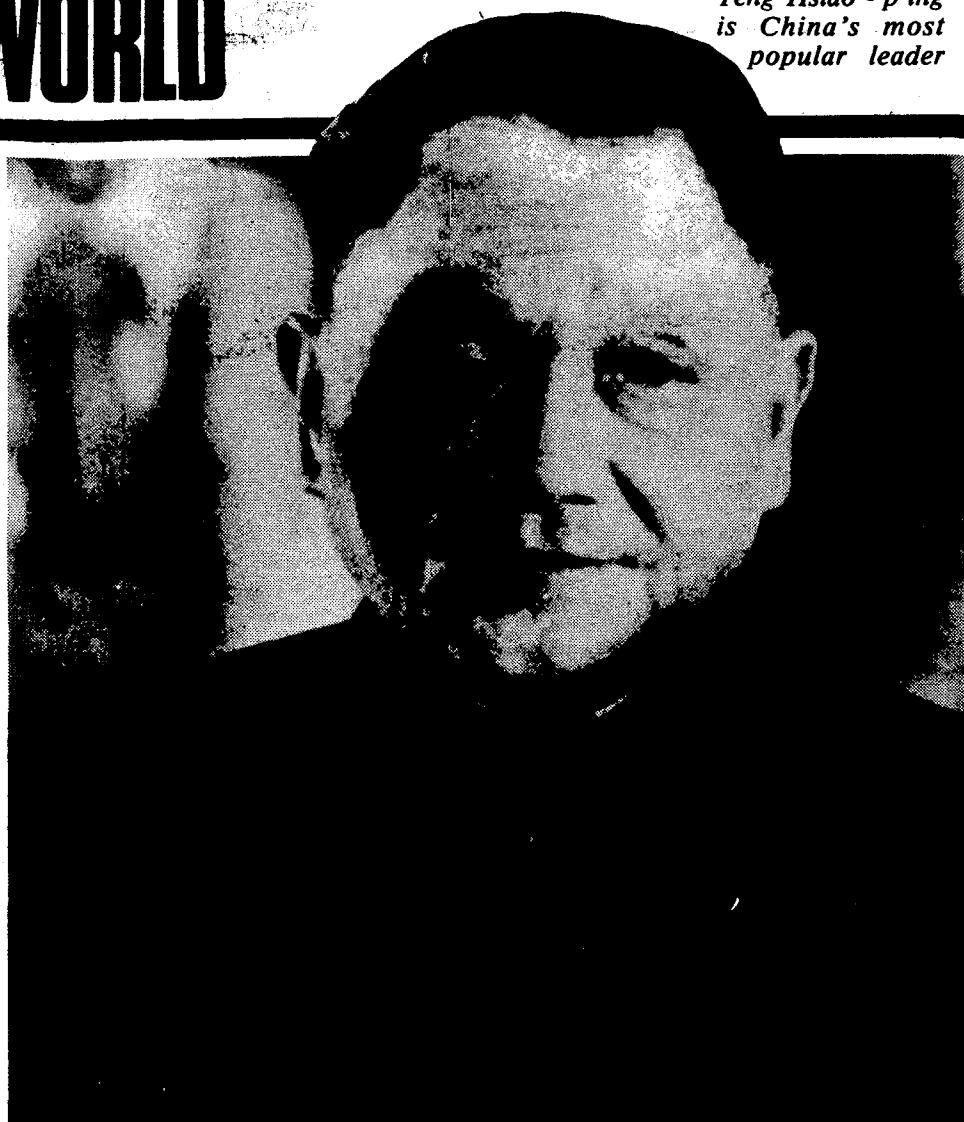
Chiang Ch'ing, everyone now knows, was no representative of the mass line, but rather an incompetent political usurper devoted to the raising of orchids and the screening of Greta Garbo films in her private villa. During the brief reign of the new Empress Dowager, the astonishing news leaked out of Peking that the popular Peihai Park in the center of Peking had been closed to the public and reserved for restricted use by government officials and their families. Nothing so contemptuous of the people had ever happened under the rule of Liu Shao-ch'i.

It is reported that when the great 1976 earthquake struck Peking, the top of the ancient white pagoda resting on the hill in the park toppled off. Some older residents were heard saying, "You see, even heaven won't put up with evil officials."

However, the younger generation are children of the great cultural and political revolution of the '60s—modern in thought and action. If somewhat cynical now about politics, they may no longer be willing to kowtow to state officials.

The concern over this on the part of the current leaders was reflected in a recent editorial on the first anniversary of Mao's death. It warned that "we must not mechanically apply stray quotations of Chairman Mao's works in disregard of the concrete time, place and circumstances." Everyone is aware that the new rulers are laying the groundwork for the reinterpretation of Mao's policies. Although the new leadership has a determined, if still tenuous, grip on the nation's power centers, the people still hold the key to production. The leaders may interpret Mao in one way and the people in another. The Chinese state, like the American state after Watergate, will have to earn whatever legitimacy the people are willing to grant it.

David Milton is the author with Nancy Milton of *The Wind Will Not Subside, a study of the Chinese Cultural Revolution.*



Wide World

THE FRENCH LEFT

Split over how much to nationalize

THE FRENCH LEFT, which had expected to win in next March's elections, may be in trouble. On Sept. 15, a summit meeting among the French Communists, Socialists, and Left Radicals broke up when the Socialists and Left Radicals refused to agree with Communist demands for revising the left's Common Program. The Communists were reported to have wanted to raise the number of nationalized companies from 227 to 729, and also to have sought veto power over the future government's policies.

Bernard Moss, author of the recently published *Origins of the French Labor Movement* and of a series on the French left for *IN THESE TIMES* (Jan. 26-Feb. 16) explores, in a new four-part series, the rift between the two parties. Moss recently returned from a year in France.

When the parties of the left began negotiations in May to update the Common Program, few suspected that it would lead to a prolonged public dispute and the risk of rupture. The dispute, which broke out into mutual recriminations in August, did not concern the alliance or its overall objectives, but rather the specific policies required to meet them. Negotiated in 1972, the Program contained too many blanks, imprecisions and outdated provisions to serve as a mandate for a left government over a five-year period.

Because of the junior role they were bound to play in the Cabinet, the Communists were especially eager to bind their partners to an updated Program, one that would be as radical in 1977 as the old one had been in 1972 and that would therefore contain some of the reforms refused by their partners then. Facing what they regarded as Socialist retreats and hesitations, they wanted to settle differences now rather than risk a split in a left government later that could be exploited by the right.

The Socialists, who on issues surrounding nationalization had indeed retreated, continued to view the Program as a grand maximum, as a final contract approved by the electorate to which they were bound. Playing the card of moderation and responsibility, they wanted to show that they could stand up to the Communists now and thus avoid any attempt to outbid them later. With a virtual free hand from his party, Mitterand attempted—in vain—to limit the scope, duration and format of the negotiations.

Difference over planned economy.

More than electoral considerations motivated the dispute. There were also serious ideological differences on prospects for surmounting the capitalist crisis. According to the current theory of state monopoly capitalism, big business maintains its profit margin not only through worker exploitation, but also through governmental subsidies, tax credits and inflated prices that bilk taxpayers, consumers and small business people.

The Program, which is a transitional one, is based on the premise that the commanding heights of the economy—major financial and industrial institutions—can be freed from capitalist domination and made to serve the public interest without collectivizing the rest of the economy. The nationalization of credit and major industry would free those sectors from dependence on international capital markets and the imperative of profit maximization. Controlled by a working class government, they could be used to promote harmonious growth of all productive forces by raising technological productivity and output, while at the same time increasing jobs, wages and worker responsibility and stimulating small and medium enterprise. The nationalizations in the Program were thus linked both to a system of worker control and to an increase in consumer purchasing power in a new model of growth that would no longer depend upon capitalist accumulation.



Michel Rocard represents the Keynesian tendencies within the French Socialist party.

Wide World

The Communists believe that with extensive nationalization a left government could escape world capitalist pressures. The Socialists point to Chile and Portugal as counterexamples.

The two partners disagree over the extent to which this new model can effectively overcome the pressures of world capitalism. Originally advanced by the Communists, the new model has never been fully accepted by the Socialists, whose thinking spans the distance between Marx and Keynes. The CERES, which played a major policy role until 1975, comes closest to the Marxist position. On the opposite end, Michel Rocard, the former PSU leader and financial expert, who enjoys popularity in the technocratic class, maintains that a left government will have to submit to prevailing free market forces.

Strongly influenced by a young Parisian intellectual named Jacques Attali, who advised him in his last presidential bid, François Mitterand has taken a middle position. Though the Mitterandist majority believes in the dominance of the plan over the free market, it feels that the government will have to take some measures to accommodate market forces. It is particularly concerned that the nationalizations will take time to produce their effects in expanded jobs and output during which the economy will have to depend on capitalist sources of supply. They thus want to limit the cost of nationalization and social reform to prevent inflation, trade deficits and bankruptcies in the small business sector.

While unwilling to make any definite projections—nobody really knows how successful the new model will be—they point to Portugal and Chile as revealing

the inflationary dangers of an overambitious reform program. Added to these economic concerns, the political consideration that excessive reforms will frighten moderate voters have proved decisive.

Balanced budgets.

On the eve of Mitterand's debate with Raymond Barre, the Socialists were jolted by the Communist publication of their economic accounts for a revised Program. With accounts that the right described as "fantastic" and "frightening," the Communists wished to demonstrate that their proposals were serious, coherent and practicable, that they could be implemented without generating inflation or budgetary deficits.

When Mitterand was asked by Barre whether he accepted the Communist figures, the terse reply was "no." When negotiations opened, the Socialists continued to say no to additional nationalizations and wage and social benefits. On nationalization, they pointed to the cost of indemnification, the difficulties of large-scale transfers of authority and the danger of bureaucratization. Bureaucratization was the code name for their fear of Communist domination under the tripartite—workers, consumers and government—system of management.

The Socialists refused the nationalization of approximately 1000 subsidiaries of the nationalized groups in which public authorities would hold a majority interest. In the vital oil, steel and auto industries, they

would agree only to financial participation extending to majority control. Drawing the same distinction between ownership and control, their indemnification plan would allow shareholders to retain formal title and the right to dividends, while yielding management control to the government, thereby saving it the cost of indemnification.

The Communists believe that a minimum threshold of nationalization will be required to assume public control of the economy. The Socialist position, said the Communists, added up to a refusal to make a clean break with monopoly power and an encouragement of capitalist restoration. Public financial participation would not guarantee worker participation in management and under French commercial law might allow present shareholders to veto capital expansion projects. The indemnification plan was even more deeply flawed. It did not distinguish between small and large shareholders and guarantee just compensation to the former, as stipulated in the Program, and it left the legal status of the nationalized industries in doubt. Liberal economists pointed out that under the plan stockholders' interests would be protected only if the public sector were run on a capitalist basis; otherwise it would amount to spoliation. In short, the plan was a technical device that left Socialist intentions suspended in deliberate ambiguity.

Socialists also rejected Communist proposals for wage and benefit hikes: a 40 percent rise in the minimum wage to \$500 a month by next March; graduated increments of from 10 to 20 percent up to \$2000 and a freeze over \$2400; a 50 percent hike in family allocations and 25 percent increase in retirement funds. They objected not only because of the dangers of inflation, but also because these proposals would have a redistributive effect on upper income groups that the party is courting.

Force de frappe.

Surprisingly, the public polemic broke out over a controversial issue that had been substantially resolved by the negotiators in July—the nuclear strike force. In May, prior to the negotiations, the Communists, who previously had considered the *force de frappe* to be too costly, dangerous and ineffective, came out for its technological maintenance as a deterrent against all potential aggressors. They argued that the grave deterioration of French conventional forces in recent years would leave a left government vulnerable to foreign, especially West German, intervention.

This reversal, taken without consultation of the rank and file, caused considerable embarrassment to Mitterand, who despite general agreement, had to contend with several varieties of opposition in his party: traditional Socialist pacifism, the anti-nuclear feeling among ecologists, and the Atlanticism of former SFIO members like international secretary Robert Pontillon, who wanted the missile to point at Soviet enemies rather than West German allies. Hedging on the issue, Mitterand, in pointed contrast to Marchais, referred it to a party convention in December and suggested that it be finally resolved by the French people in a referendum after the elections. The Communists, who insist that a left government will need more than good will to deter potential enemies, considered the Mitterand suggestion to be not only unconstitutional, which it technically was, but also a threat to left unity.

With the *force de frappe* as the spark, the Communists in August decided to take their case to the people in an all-out propaganda barrage that involved the distribution of six million hand-outs and for the first time reached into the rarefied pages of *Le Monde*. The Socialists, who risked losing popularity among working people,

Continued on next page.

SPAIN

Suarez regime beset with problems

A sick economy, strong unions, and pressure for Basque self-rule threatens the new regime.

By Dan Swanson

Spain's leading news magazine reported that the government had considered printing currency in bills of 5000 pesetas, worth about \$60. The largest bill currently in circulation is 1000 pesetas, and its purchasing power is being rapidly diminished by the 30 percent annual rate of inflation.

But the government decided against the larger bills, doubtless to the dismay of Spanish bank-tellers. The reason for the decision illustrates one of the increasing array of problems plaguing the newly-elected government of prime minister Adolfo Suarez: 5000 peseta bills would allow frightened Spanish businessmen to send larger sums of money out of the country.

Suarez's conservative government was naturally expected to have problems with supporters of the left-wing parties that his Democratic Center narrowly defeated in the June 15 elections, the first relatively free vote in 40 years. But differences with Suarez's own business and middle-class supporters have also appeared, caused in part by a government declaration in mid-summer that it will push for tax reform—which means in the Spanish context that the more privileged classes will begin to pay taxes.

Split within center.

Upper-class grumbling was followed by rumors of a split within the Center party itself. Suarez's organization, stitched together in a hurry just before the election, is an unlikely amalgam of conservatives and Christian Democrats, many of whom had been in the moderate opposition to Franco, and middle-level former *Franquistas* like the prime minister himself.

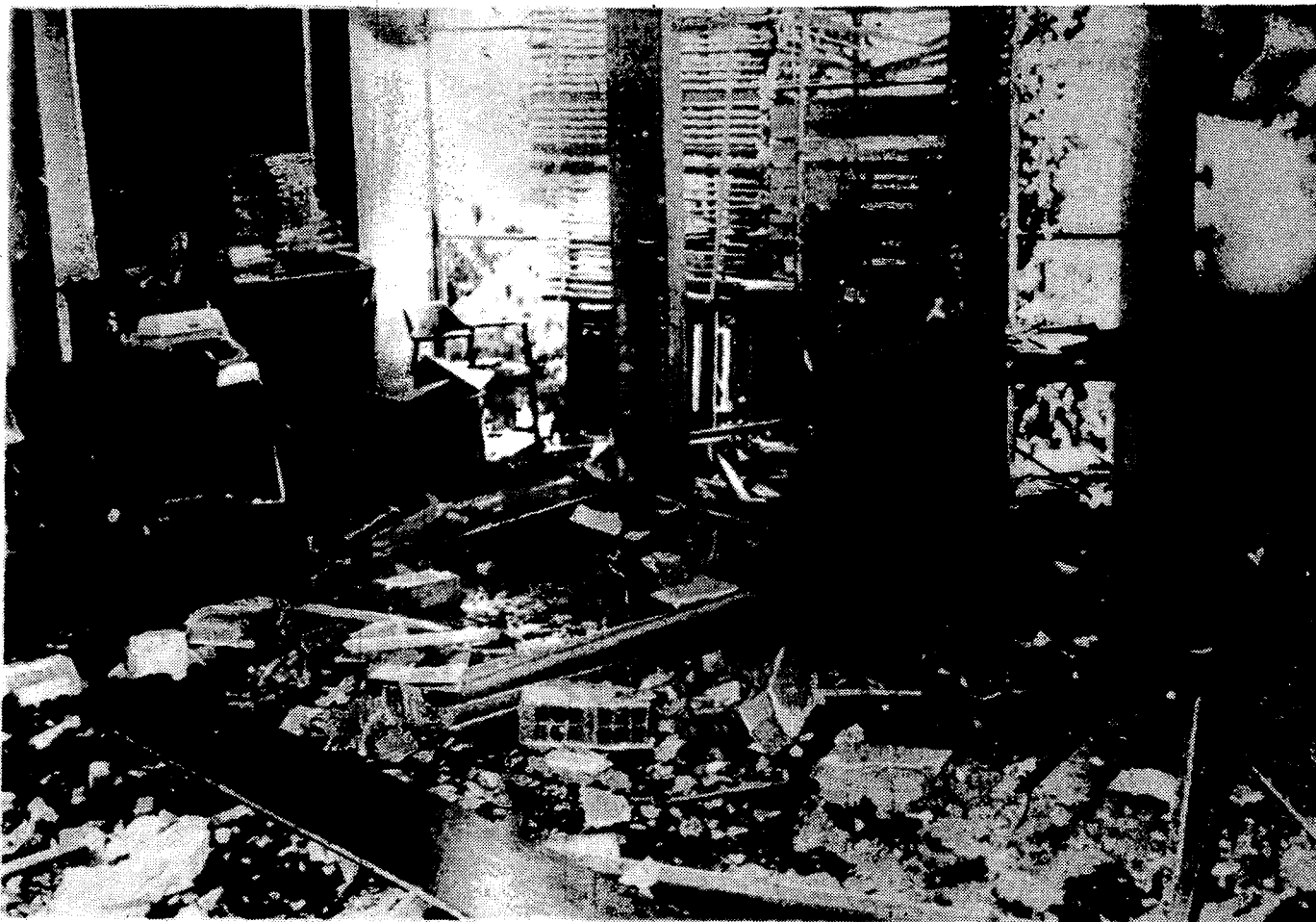
The former opposition members complained that Suarez was ignoring them. One Christian Democrat explained, "This party is a nest of fascists who have used it to clean up their image before the elections. But after the cleaning, everyone has forgotten the soap."

The crisis came to a head in early September after a Socialist Workers party deputy was beaten in a demonstration by the unreconstructed Armed Police, prompting calls for the Interior Minister's resignation. Suarez cut short a European tour and began meeting with his party's dissidents and opposition figures. Felipe Gonzalez, the leader of the Socialist Workers, the largest opposition force, found the prime minister without his customary aplomb. Gonzalez's deputy said the Socialist leader described Suarez as "scared, insecure, more insecure than other times, very alone...very, very, very much alone."

Spanish hot autumn.

Suarez appears to have weathered the crisis, but he still faces what the Spanish press, after the strike wave in Italy during fall 1969, has taken to calling *un otoño caliente*—"a hot autumn." Contracts for more than two and one-half million workers will be negotiated before the end of the year, and the government is seeking to limit wage increases to 15 percent—half of what the unions want.

As the debris of Franco's fascist apparatus for controlling the working class is cleared away, Communist, Socialist and Anarchist union federations are racing to enroll the nearly 90 percent of the workforce that remains unorganized. Union leaders vying for support are therefore naturally uninterested in talking about working-class sacrifices while inflation is expected to jump to 40 percent next year, unemployment stands at one million, and higher import prices caused



In Barcelona on Sept. 20 a package was delivered to the leftwing magazine *El Papus* containing a bomb. Besides the office being wrecked, the man delivering the bomb was killed and several other people were hurt. It is typical of the left-right violence still sweeping Spain. This week, Suarez called for a conference of all the major parties to attend to Spain's many problems.

by July's 25 percent devaluation of the peseta are still being absorbed.

The major parties are calling in varying degrees for some sort of social pact between capital and labor to implement an economic plan that would share the burden of the crisis; there is, however, wide disagreement as to how the burden will be distributed.

To carry out such a plan, the Communist party is calling for a national government of all major parties. A national government, which is beginning to be considered seriously by other political leaders, would protect the democratic gains already made and also increase the CP's respectability.

The Socialist Workers, who have far more seats in the Parliament but are less well organized than the Communists, prefer to allow the government to flounder, hoping to win new elections at some point in the future and govern alone. Both left parties expect to do well in municipal elections, scheduled for this winter, which will remove many remaining *Franquistas* from important seats of local power.

Autonomy and independence.

Suarez also faces headaches in the Basque country. That region, easily the most politicized region in Spain, saw one-half million people take to the streets in early September in yet another series of demonstrations demanding freedom for remaining Basques who are in prison or exile. The situation in Euskadi, the Basque name for the region, is complicated by growing differences between moderates who favor

autonomy and a sizable left-wing minority that calls for independence, socialism and the reunification with Basques on the other side of the French border.

The moderates favor parliamentary tactics; the far left, or "arbertzales," many of them linked to ETA, the famous guerrilla organization, argue that armed struggle must still be employed along with strikes and demonstrations.

Cultural flowering.

The rebirth of political militance continues to be accompanied by a cultural flowering. Spain is being flooded by books, magazines and films banned during Franco's censorship. A feminist movement has emerged, and gays demonstrate for the repeal of something called the "law of Social Danger," which has been used to send them to re-education camps where their "illness" is treated with electric shock.

The anarcho-syndicalist National Workers Confederation (CNT) was hardest hit by fascist repression and wiped out as an organization by the early '60s. But it has been revived, melding libertarian workers with the mushrooming counterculture, and drew 200,000 to a Barcelona rally in early July.

Meanwhile, Spaniards are growing impatient with the Cortes, or Parliament, which opened with great fanfare July 22. Suarez has yet to present a coherent program. Elaboration of a constitution to replace Franco's Organic Laws and Decrees, once expected to require less than a year, is now being talked of as a task requiring several years.

Events of the summer have made it

clear that Spain's new democracy, so heralded by the Western press in June, is by no means safely consolidated. Suarez is caught between a left growing in strength and a right accustomed to having its interests protected by brute force, which may be unable to make the concessions demanded by the new reality. The situation is imbued with a special urgency by the steadily worsening economy.

Military the unknown.

The military is the great unknown. The generals are certainly not pleased with continuing unrest in the streets, nor with the regionalist upsurge, which, in their expression, "threatens the unity of the fatherland."

Yet Suarez—and perhaps the generals also—realize that there can be no going back. Another dictatorship would bring ostracism in the international community and probably dash for good Spain's hopes to join NATO and the Common Market. Moreover, repression, never easy, would be far more difficult now than Spaniards have had a taste of freedom.

Suarez and his partner, King Juan Carlos, are canny and intelligent men who have drawn admiration from even their most bitter enemies on the left for their political skill. Suarez has gotten out of jams before, most recently when he legalized the Communist party in April and endured a storm of military protest. But the rocky months ahead promise to be the greatest test yet of the prime minister's ability to maneuver and persuade.

Dan Swanson recently returned from Spain.

THE FRENCH LEFT

Socialists/Communists

Continued from page 9.

tried to minimize the differences and abbreviate the polemic.

The Communists, however, seemed ready to push their allies to the point of rupture, confident that sooner or later they would bend to public pressure. The Communists were willing to cause momentary discouragement on the left for the sake of raising the political level of

the alliance by election time six months away.

Compromise obscured.

The virulent polemic obscured the general outlines of a compromise that had already been reached by the negotiators. The Program has already been revised in most of its particulars. While refusing to nationalize any more groups, the Socialists were willing to go half way in the nationaliza-

tion of 500 subsidiaries and in extending democratic management to publicly held companies.

A compromise also seemed possible on wage and social benefits. The major stumbling block, as in 1972, was on the nationalization of steel, which the Communists have pledged to the steel workers. Other issues, such as indemnification and the distribution of ministerial posts, remain to be arbitrated.

Whatever the specifics of the final compromise, however, both sides agree that the success of the Program will depend less on technical arrangements than on the political and social balance of forces, especially the size and strength of the left majority next year.

MIDEAST

Israel's 77 unsettling settlements

By David Mandel

TEL AVIV—It is getting increased UN attention and has caused a crisis in U.S./Israel relations. But the question of Jewish settlements in the territories occupied since 1967 is not a new one. The Labor government, in power until this summer, approved and founded 77 such settlements—with American acquiescence.

Why then all the furor over the new Likud government's plans? Its "ideological" motivation, asserting the right of Jews to dwell in all parts of historic Israel, will undoubtedly be limited by tactical and logistic considerations; under present political conditions and with little Jewish immigration, it can hardly seriously alter the map drawn on the ground by the previous administration, which was supposedly concerned only with defense considerations. So why the fuss?

Pressure for a peace settlement, requiring withdrawal from the territories, is mounting. The 77 existing settlements constitute a major obstacle, and undoubtedly would have become a bone of contention had Labor stayed in power.

Carter and the Arabs are probably concentrating so heavily on this issue because the Likud's ideological rationale is more difficult to defend to the outside world, however. Many people believe that Labor would have at least accepted a moratorium on additional settlements. But Labor's downfall last May can be partially explained by internal pressure, focused on the mass *Gush Emunim* movement of religious zealots seeking to restore biblical Israel—pressure that has usually got its way.

Boom after Six-day War.

The borders assigned to Israel by the UN partition plan in 1947 reflected the extent of Jewish settlement up to then. Even the smallest villages proved doubly important in the 1948 war: they were both defensive fortresses, stemming Arab offensives (the small kibbutz Yad Mochai held off the Egyptian army for six days, effectively preventing it from reaching Tel Aviv), and forward bases for the campaigns that added significant northern territory to Israeli control.

Throughout the '50s, hundreds of new settlements were founded, on land either uninhabited, abandoned by Palestinian refugees in 1948 or expropriated from Arabs who remained. The immediate need was to settle the hundreds of thousands of Jewish refugees who were arriving. But strategic considerations were still in the minds of the planners; a conscious attempt was made to place settlements along the borders and in close proximity to concentrations of Arab population.

By the '60s, immigration and economic growth in Israel had slowed down. Only five new settlements were founded between 1964 and 1967.

Then came the unexpected territorial gains of the Six-Day War. Almost immediately afterwards, groups of young Israelis from Upper Galilee, which had been shelled by the Syrians from the Golan Heights, squatted in abandoned towns there (about 150,000 Syrians fled the Heights during the war). Children of former Jewish settlers, forced to abandon areas south of Jerusalem in 1948, began to rebuild.

Soon enough, the government sanctioned these and other projects, quoting the security rationale. But it was also forced to accept facts "created" by settlers with other ideas in mind: Jewish twin cities of Hebron/Kiryat Arba were approved only after a long struggle by *Gush Emunim*'s predecessors in 1968-71.

A security hindrance.

Many critics have pointed out that under conditions of modern warfare—and Israel possesses the latest in technology and hardware—small civilian towns hardly contribute to an area's defense. On the



On Sept. 28, Gush Emunim settlers load a prefabricated house onto a truck after Israeli soldiers blocked an unauthorized settlement on the West Bank.

Wide World

Menachim Begin's government is arguing that Israel must keep the territories that it won after the Six-Day war for defense against war. Others see them as the main obstacle to peace.

contrary, Golan settlements proved to be a hindrance in 1973, when the Syrians launched a surprise attack. The settlements had to be defended until their evacuation, which took up much valuable time and equipment, could be completed. Geographically, the area would have been easier to defend without them.

This claim is readily admitted by many who still advocate such settlements, but they argue that the areas settled are necessary for defense against land invasion, which still represents an ultimately more serious threat than bombs and missiles. If the settlement map will ultimately determine borders (as in 1947), then the towns' presence insures that these militarily vital areas will remain in Israeli hands. *Jerusalem Post* columnist Meir Merhav recently wrote, in an unusually frank article:

"The settlements, in short, are an attempt to secure boundaries which will serve for defense. They are predicated upon the permanence of the risk of war... If the assumption is that peace is a process, that it is ultimately attainable, and that the defense needs and capability of Israel are as much a matter of political circumstance as of territorial depth, topography and strategic control, then the settlements appear as an obstacle to peace."

Likud "compromise."

The Labor government claimed to be settling only unpopulated areas. While it is true that the most densely populated Arab areas are still untouched, the claim is far from accurate. Two of the most well-known counter-instances are the Pithat Rafiah area, where thousands of nomadic Bedouin families were rounded up and fenced into several small reservations to make way for the sprinkling of new settlements now flourishing there, and the West Bank town of Akaba, whose fields were sprayed with poison and closed "for military reasons" in 1972, only to become the site of one of the western-most "Jordan Valley" settlements. Both episodes stirred up active protest by leftist groups in Is-

rael and, eventually, some unfavorable press comment.

Any Likud plans to broaden settlement projects will inevitably come into more direct conflict with Arab inhabitants, whose spring 1976 civil uprising was sparked, in part, by *Gush Emunim*'s successfully forcing the Rabin government to allow it to settle at Kadum, six miles from Nablus. Ironically, however, even the new, non-specific plan outlined recently by Agriculture Minister Ariel Sharon still avoided the most populated centers of Arab population; it only slightly widened the previous Allon Plan.

When *Gush Emunim* threatened to unilaterally settle 11 West Bank cities on Sept. 28, the government put its foot down, at least temporarily. Such a blatant provocation could not be tolerated even by the Likud while Moshe Dayan is doing his best in New York and Washington to demonstrate flexibility. Two settlement groups were arrested by the army while en route to their prospective new homes.

It is still unclear whether there was a communications failure, whether they defied their leaders' orders to wait, or if they were purposely sent to test the government. But meanwhile, *Gush* heads, after an all-night session with the Prime Minister, agreed to refrain from further unapproved attempts. In return they were promised two new settlements in each of the next three months, to be housed temporarily in army camps, with the families' men officially mobilized into reserve units. It was also revealed that the government agreed to divert six million Israeli pounds (\$600,000) into *Gush Emunim* coffers, supposedly to cover expenses incurred by existing settlements before they were legalized.

The two largest opposition parties, Labor and the Democratic Movement for Change, concentrated on criticizing the "politicization of the army" in their first reactions to the government/*Gush Emunim* "compromise." Both of these parties are divided on the basic issue of settlements and the territories' future.

Parties opposing all settlement (some with the exception of Jerusalem) are represented by only seven to nine seats out of the 120 in the Knesset. Only if outside pressure presents a clear policy choice, with the Likud totally defying American opinion, can major opposition be expected on the settlement issue.

Debate irrelevant.

But by then, the settlements will not be the prime issue they appear to be today. More important will be the political fate of the occupied territories altogether, especially the West Bank and Gaza. The Begin government says it will never withdraw from any of it. A significant portion of Israeli opinion rejects the historical-mystical rationale and would be willing to give back all the territories under conditions of true peace. But this public is convinced that such peace is impossible, and thus "predicated upon the permanence of the risk of war," it now supports Begin's attempt to try to keep as much as possible.

The internal Israeli debate over "how much" of the territories to keep and where to settle becomes nearly irrelevant when faced with the Arab, and now most of the world, consensus that *all* the occupied lands must be returned as part of any peace agreement, and that such a peace agreement is crucial to world peace. Likud spokespeople employ this argument against those who want to give up *part* of the West Bank.

They are essentially right: the Allon Plan is no more acceptable to the rest of the world than total annexation. But the present government's insistence on continued rule over another people against their will—at most offering extremely limited "home rule"—can only spark greater resistance on the part of the Palestinians, and sooner or later, is likely to lead to more war, which in turn can only continue to harden attitudes and bring even greater suffering to both Palestinians and Israelis.

David Mandel is an editor of *New Outlook* and a member of *Shasi*.

SPORTS FOR THE (DAILY) WORKER

If you speak to old Communists, many of them will tell you that the best written and most popular section of the Daily Worker during the Communist party's heyday was its sports page.

From the late '30s through the mid-'50s the Daily Worker had a daily sports section that far surpassed in breadth and quality anything that has appeared in an American radical newspaper before or since.

Aimed at a working class audience, the Daily Worker sports section was remarkably free of the sectarianism and obsession with Soviet models that characterized the rest of the paper. It featured hardnosed professional coverage of the sports that its readers liked best—baseball, basketball, football, track and boxing.

But its most notable feature—the one that distinguished it from other New York dailies—was the campaign it undertook to break down discrimination against blacks in all aspects of American sport. The Daily Worker sports staff—along with their counterparts in the black press—played a major role in mobilizing left and liberal opinion to fight for the integration of major league baseball. This was perhaps their greatest achievement, one for which they have been given little credit by sportswriters and historians.

I discovered the Daily Worker's sports page several years ago when I was doing some research on the Communist party in Harlem in the '30s. As I skimmed through issues of the paper, I saw articles on subjects ranging from the Louis-Schmeling fight, to LIU basketball, to Young Communist League soccer games, to the exploits of Satchel Paige, and as I stopped to read them, I found journalism that had humor, verve and political passion, but that never preached to its readers.

It made a tremendous impression on me. When I was asked to coordinate sports coverage for IN THESE TIMES, it was the Worker's sports pages of the '30s that served as my inspiration.

The person who designed and organized the Daily Worker's sports coverage was Lester Rodney. Rodney came onto the Daily Worker as sports editor in 1936, and left in the wake of internal convulsions that hit the party after Krushchev's speech on Stalin's crimes and the Hungarian rebellion in 1956.

Through the ups and downs of party life during 20 difficult years Rodney remained a respected member of New York's sportswriting fraternity and a popular figure among the party rank and file. For me, a New Leftist who only learned about him by reading his articles on microfilm, he is something of an intellectual hero.

Earlier this year, I made contact with Lester Rodney through a mutual friend. He has been living in California since he left the party and has worked for several West Coast newspapers. When I asked him whether he would be willing to work with me on an interview discussing his experiences, he readily agreed and provided detailed answers to all my questions. The results are printed below.

—Mark Naison

When the Daily Worker decided to create a sports section as a daily feature, it was the first American socialist paper in at least a generation, and the first Communist paper ever, to publicly affirm the importance of sports as an aspect of popular culture. What prompted the Worker's editors to take such a step? What was the political rationale behind their decision?

The rationale was very simple. A significant part of a whole new generation in the '30s was radicalized by the Depression and ready to look into something better than a war-boom-bust economy and its value system that placed profits over people.

We of that generation grew up playing ball and following sports. To us, a newspaper without any sports was not a newspaper. The name of the game for the Worker was reaching new people. We asked readers to show the paper to friends, relatives, neighbors, co-workers. Not an easy thing to do in the face of the lingering general notion that the Daily Worker was not really an American paper.

It was a help to give them the bridge of a sports section.

On a deeper level, those who felt a newspaper without sports wasn't a newspaper were right. You can differ in evaluating the meaning of sports in Ameri-

can life, but you can't ignore sports and claim to be a serious newspaper.

Was there any resistance within the Worker staff or the party to the initiation of a sports section? What arguments did this opposition make?

Oh yes, some of the old timers initially thought it preposterous to turn over as much as one-eighth of a desperately struggling paper to sports. But they were in the minority and the tide was overwhelmingly the other way.

Once the readers were polled, and the response was 6-1 in favor of daily sports, it was hard for the most sectarian die-hard to argue the point, and none did. The result of the poll really startled some—this was a poll of Worker readers, not the general public!

When you came onto the Worker staff as sports editor, what background did you bring to the task? Had you done sports writing before, or had your prior work in the party been in an entirely different sphere?

I had no prior work in the party. I joined it when I joined the paper. I was well into my 20s before I paid any attention to the party, or really knew what a Communist was. My father lived and died a Republican. I remember a black bordered picture on our porch window

with the legend: "We mourn our loss—Warren Gamaliel Harding."

Mine was a typical mix of Depression-era odd jobs and unemployment, though always with an interest in sports and writing. I wrote sports in high school, did some on space rates for the Brooklyn Eagle, was a sports director in a summer resort.

I first saw the paper while attending NYU at night, wrote a casual letter to them about how they could do their weekly sports better, got an invitation to come in and do some writing myself. It was like volunteering a good idea at a Cub Scout parent meeting and immediately winding up as Cubmaster.

I wrote some weekly stuff, got more and more intrigued by the possibilities, agreed to take over when the decision was made to go daily with sports. (Got \$20 a week to start.)

This was late September 1936, just before the subway World Series. I remember my first daily banner headline, 8 columns, RR Gothic type: GIANT POWER THREATENS YANKS. (If Cincy had won the '36 pennant, would I have headlined RED POWER THREATENS YANKS?) The Yanks promptly knocked off the Giants in five, an early warning for our readers not to bet on our "Marxist" sports predictions.

What were your major objectives, as an editor, in designing a sports section? What were the major issues you wanted to cover, and the major issues you wanted to discuss? How did you see the sports in the Worker differing from the sports in the New York Times, Post or Daily News?

Of course I saw our role as differing from the Times, Post or News. (Also, then, the Mirror, Herald-Tribune, World Telegram, Sun and Journal American!)

It had to differ in form because of space, deadline and financial limitations. We couldn't compete in actual coverage.

In content, we were immediately gifted with an enormous scoop. Outside of the Negro weeklies, none of the newspapers made an issue of the crime of barring black players from our "national pastime," and didn't even pay attention to the outstanding caliber of some of the black players. Hard to believe, isn't it. As old Casey would say, you could look it up.

Until we put it to him, no sports writer had even asked National League president Ford Frick if there were any written ban on Negro players. When we got on the record the admission that there was none, we could put the heat on the individual club owners, and when they made noises about the white players not standing for it, we could and did go to the players and shoot that down.

In general coverage, I had to feel our way. Basically the idea was to do one hell of an in-depth job on key events, while covering the broad scene as best we could.

If Joe Louis fought someone on Monday night, people could read about it Tuesday morning in the other papers. I figured that if our story Wednesday morning was richer and more satisfying (with fuller post-fight interviews, and some of the flavor the other papers didn't capture), people would still want to read it—as I myself would if I were just a reader. Hell, fans read about some sports events a week later in Time or Newsweek if it's well done.

We did cover most major daytime sports events—primarily Dodger, Giant and Yankee games—for the next morning's paper, and ran standings and batting leaders whenever deadlines and schedules permitted.

We were always plagued by the problem of news versus giving up the effort to "cover" and just going feature. I'm afraid we often fell in between. Of course, it was our feature stuff the readers wanted. Al-





Opposite page: Lester Rodney in 1939 or '40. Above: Rodney today. "Those who felt a newspaper without sports wasn't a newspaper were right. You can differ in evaluating the meaning of sports in American life, but you can't ignore sports and claim to be a serious newspaper."

For more than 20 years Rodney supervised the sports section of the *Daily Worker*. It was an exciting time, with lessons for the present.

most all of them read another paper anyhow.

We really took off on the baseball discrimination issue in 1937 and never let up. But—and this is, I think, a key to whatever success we had, and the fact that our impact was far greater than our circulation—we fought the good fight within the context of covering and enjoying baseball and its players, not of hostility to or disdain for the game.

People who expected the *Daily Worker* to run an anti-sports section, not a sports section, were disappointed.

This approach helped us win vital memberships in organizations such as the Baseball Writers Association, with its automatic entry into the magic world of the press boxes, dugouts and field before the games, clubhouses after games, etc. (From reader reaction as I recall, they really enjoyed chats with the players, which presented them as they were with their rough humor, earthiness, rueful wit, camaraderie.)

So early in 1937, when I asked Dodger manager Burleigh Grimes about Satch Paige, Josh Gibson and the other black stars of major league caliber, it wasn't a case of "who the hell is this guy coming out of left field with these questions?" Burleigh *knew* me as a reporter, and, if I may say so, as a knowledgeable reporter about the game and one who wouldn't embroider or sensationalize whatever he said.

(Lester, he said unhappily, let's talk about something else, you're wasting your time, it'll never happen, think of the trains, the hotels, spring training down South, etc., etc., etc. It was exactly as inconceivable to Burleigh Grimes that the Jackie Robinsons, Willie Mays, Hank Aarons and their black brothers of more ordinary big league caliber would ever play in the leagues, as it is inconceivable to today's youthful fan that there ever was a time when players were barred because of the color of their skin.)

This is a long answer to a short question, but it was quite a question. A few other points: I should mention that early on, we did have a brief debate on the paper about the thrust of the sports section. One staff member knew the soccer scene, and thought we should devote our meager resources to covering soccer, which had a working class following, mainly foreign-born and first-generation Americans, rather than chasing the will o' the wisp of the big time sports scene, as he saw it. Though apparently practical, this was a self-limiting vision, and we went the other way, the harder way and the right way.

There were other choices that had to be made. When baseball was over, it was football season, and we covered football. (It was the good old days when one season followed another and there was no greedy stretching out of basketball and ice hockey well into the next baseball season!) In the winter, I had to decide between personal coverage of either basketball or hockey, since I couldn't spend every night at Madison Square Garden. My own preference merged with my estimate of which was more important for us, which was of more interest to the average working New Yorker.

We went basketball, and covered CCNY, NYU, LIU, St. Johns, Manhattan and the rest gung ho. There was no professional game of account then.

College readership of our coverage nev-

er was enormous, but in a fluctuating sort of way we made some circulation inroads. And later, in the '50s, when the betting scandals broke, two of the major coaches said we had more straight talk on that tragedy and its causes than anyone.

What was the paper's approach to professional sports? Did you regard them as "opiates of the people" (as party publications did in the early '30s) or as legitimate cultural institutions? What were the major criticisms that the Worker leveled at organized sports?

Obviously we on the paper didn't regard pro sports as "opiates of the people" and I never wrote such nonsense. I suppose I can get an argument on this from some on the socialist left, but I regard the very concept as coming from a million miles away, and an arrogant, elitist one, with overtones of "we know best what is good for the workers."

Do we say movies and books are opiates of the people? People enjoy them, and there are lots of things wrong with many movies and books. Serious social critics see movies and read books and argue about which of them are good and which are lousy and maybe why more of them can't be better.

We certainly did not have an uncritical "gee whiz" approach to the sports scene, and neither do the better sports writers on the better major newspapers in the country these days. We had a lot more to say in our time than the other papers about things that were crummy and the sports fans and athletes themselves could easily relate to such criticisms.

A couple of examples come to mind:

In 1938, when Detroit Tiger owner Walter Briggs, summarily fired manager Mickey Cochrane, who had done wonders with the team and was almost killed when beamed in a crucial series with the Yankees, I had some things to point out about the firing in the next morning's paper. So, from a different perspective, did the *Times'* sports columnist, John Kieran.

Heywood Broun—for any of you younger readers out there who don't know of him, a superb syndicated Scripps Howard general columnist and founder of the Newspaper Guild, the trade union of newspaper people—in turn wrote about the two columns, in a piece beginning "The *Daily Worker* has gone to bat upon the case of Mickey Cochrane of the Tigers." Brown contrasted our critique of Briggs very favorably (and wittily) with the defense of the auto magnate by Kieran. Broun's "It Seems to Me" column had an enormous and devoted readership and we actually felt a bump upward in circulation for a while.

Another example: In 1952 we lit into football thuggery, as practiced by a peculiarly untalented bunch of maulers at Dartmouth, who "got" the Columbia star early in the game and were penalized six times for unnecessary roughness, and brutalized Princeton's All American back Dick Kazmaier so savagely that Princeton was in an uproar and even the coach broke the unwritten "club" code with a criticism of Dartmouth tactics.

The *Daily Worker* was an unlikely ally of Old Nassau, but we blew the whistle on Dartmouth like nobody else did.

Sometime later, the *Saturday Evening Post*, in an article on Dartmouth by two grads, complained that the *Daily Worker* "tried to give the game the party line

slant." The article grossly misrepresented what we had done, on the comfortable theory that nobody would ever know what was in the *Daily Worker* anyhow.

Well, I took the *Saturday Evening Post* article apart with documentation and sent my piece to the "Great Issues" course at Dartmouth, compulsory for seniors, which examined American journalism and its foibles as part of its curriculum. I challenged the course director to use the *Saturday Evening Post* thing and my expose of its shoddiness as an example of how news can be tailored against unpopular sections of the population. He thanked me and posted the two prominently. I heard from Dartmouth students, mostly congratulations.

I should get in here that I cite these things not to blow the horn of the *Daily Worker* sports section. Goodness knows we did lots of things wretchedly. That would make an article of equal length. Not least, our equal naivete—obtuseness—brain-parking with the rest of the paper and the party about anything dealing with the Soviet Union, the monkey on our back that probably did more than anything to keep the "Daily" from becoming a truly great little newspaper.

But these examples are central to what you are trying to get at. I think of them as reflecting the fact that good solid journalism, even though radically critical of things generally taken for granted, will evoke cheers from people who may otherwise disagree with you from here to San Antonio.

In going through the Worker sports pages, I see that many professional athletes were quoted, particularly when the question of discrimination in big league baseball was being discussed. How did athletes respond when you told them you were a reporter from the Daily Worker, a Communist publication? Did any of them refuse to talk to you or become guarded in their comments?

The answer to your question is in the representative breadth of those athletes quoted in the *Worker*. With very few exceptions, athletes never refused to talk to me.

Again, you ask here an abstract question. In real life, they knew me after a bit as a sportswriter, and, crucially, one who never bent or twisted anything they said.

A dramatic example was Yankee star third baseman Red Rolfe (Red for the color of his hair) doing an article for us after each game of the World Series.

Rolfe was one of the many Americans who make you like the sound of that good word after all—tough minded, basically principled and fair. He happened to be interested in showing by literate baseball analysis that he was more than just a jock. When he received the first anonymous venomous phone calls and letters after the announcement, he got his New England back up and said, "Now I surely want to go through with it!"

I had to hustle into the Yankee clubhouse after each game and get the article down on paper, and I couldn't push him by pleading deadline, or push him into saying anything that wasn't his own thinking! It was a smash. One night we sold 6,000 extra copies right off the back of circulation trucks in the Times Square area.

Rolfe enjoyed it so much he started doing articles for us the next spring, then regretfully ended the relationship when it was pointed out by the manager, and Rolfe agreed, that it was cutting into his baseball playing concentration. The manager, who also resisted some heat during the Series for agreeing to Rolfe's writing for us, was named—guess what—Joe McCarthy. (You might say the right Joe McCarthy is still alive.)

By the way, on another level, not all big time athletes, certainly in the '30s, were apolitical, or without strong feelings on



Consistent support for minority players was a hallmark of the Daily Worker.

social justice. The *Worker* organized some successful "Games for Spain" during the so-called Civil War of the Republic against Franco, Hitler and Mussolini. We had some of the top basketball stars in a game at St. Nicholas Arena.

Of course, Spain was a cause which enlisted the passions of far more Americans than the radical left. But someone had to organize the damned things. The other papers didn't.

How did sportswriters working for the big New York dailies treat you when you met them at press conferences or ball games? Did they regard you as an outcast or as a full member of the fraternity?

I think it is a fair statement that most accepted me as a member of the sportswriting fraternity. Some questioned, in a friendly way, some of the things I wrote, not always without reason. Some were aloof, and one famed columnist was downright hostile. We had a few exchanges in print which ended with my reminder that I would be at my usual seat at the Friday night fights if he wanted to make something out of it. There was gleeful expectation in the trade of a fight that never came off. (If I say so, I was in better shape than ol' Jimmy.)

I took part in writer's association shows. Sometimes I had to endure the well meaning "You're different, if all the Communists were like you..."

I think more significant is the number of times another sportswriter would tell me, "Here's something I can't use but I'd damn well like to get into print somewhere." I'd wind up with (and get credit for) some little exposure of wrongdoing, an owner's finagling, whatever.

And I do have the good memory of the day in the Ebbets Field press box when the Dodger publicity man read the little formal announcement that Jackie Roosevelt Robinson would be brought up to the big team, and two writers for other papers came over and said, in effect, you guys can be proud of this.

When I left the sportswriting field, my baseball writing peers voted me the lifetime honorary membership card (entry into all press boxes), which is usual but not automatic.

The Worker contained a sizeable amount of coverage of trade union sports and "workers' sports" activities of all kinds. How widespread were these activities? Did they ever pose a serious alternative to sports programs organized by corporations, settlement houses, the PAL, CYO, YMCA?

What we covered heavily for a while were the leagues organized by left-wing unions, even running box scores on basketball.

At their best, these drew some pretty good crowds, Transport Workers vs. Fur Floor Boys, etc. We had a monopoly here,

needless to say, but there was a limit to the scene, probably the same limit as there was to the concept of left-wing unions.

I'm not sure whether we should have done more along these lines, with the risk of getting to look like an extended trade union newspaper, than which few things are duller to the average person not specifically involved.

I can't answer your broad question. I never knew of any workers sports programs that approached say the CYO or the PAL in scope and popularity.

How much attention did the Worker devote to discrimination against women in sports? Was this regarded as a major issue by people on the left?

Very little, and no. In fairness, it is difficult to impose today's raised consciousness about women into another era, when all had more than a little complacent oink, oink in us.

Having said that, I would also have to say that there was no good reason why I should not have had the wit and desire to translate the good theoretical words on the "woman question" into some investigative and advocative journalism on women and the sports scene. Not silly stuff about women playing college football, but attitudes and their insidious effect on kids, availability of facilities—well, you know the whole range of things that could have been looked into.

Did the sports section suffer from political censorship from the chief editors of the paper? Did you ever feel you operated under political constraints or were unable to do things with the page you wanted to?

Perhaps remarkably, the answer is no. Sports, by its nature, was a pretty autonomous fiefdom. In fact, I thought of myself as freer than the other sports writers, free to go into the hush hush baseball color ban, free to belt big advertising business tycoons, like Briggs, etc. Oh, there were good suggestions on the baseball campaign from some, especially Ben Davis Jr., a formidable athlete and a big fan. Pete Caccione, first Communist city councilman in New York, was another very helpful guy in his modest way.

I never felt any constraints—except for more resources to do a better job. The "Moscow gold" myth was a myth and we just didn't have the dough. (The free editorial hand had to do with sports, not with me personally. When I covered and praised the movie *From Here to Eternity* for vacationing David Platt, the ideological roof came down on me!)

How did the readership respond to the sports? Was it one of the more popular features?

Without any doubt.

Do you consider the campaign the Worker conducted against the exclusion of blacks from big leagues to be the sports section's greatest single achievement?

Yes. As I said earlier, the campaign was ours by default. Any sports editor starting a sports section for the *Daily Worker* would automatically have gone right into it as the main task.

I don't know how many years the inevitable was advanced by our campaign—which swept in much broader participation in its climactic phase.

It was kind of gratifying to get in 1939 a warm letter of congratulations from the sports editor of the *Pittsburgh Courier*, a major Negro publication, to read in the *New York Daily News* (yes, the *Daily News*) in July 1942 the partly accurate: "A casual remark dropped three years ago by Leo Durocher, which he 'can't remember' may carve a larger niche in baseball history than all his shortstopping and managerial histrionics and heroics. He told Lester Rodney, *Daily Worker* sports editor (now in the Army), that he'd use colored players with the Dodgers but for the general ban by club owners. Recently resurrected, the comment became the tail of a tornado that is threatening to democratize the national pastime of our Democracy. Assailed by more than a million letters, telegrams and phone calls, Commissioner Landis finally announced that there are absolutely no bars against colored players in baseball."

Though this is not a "history" of the campaign, please let me insert here for the record that the late Nat Low, who filled in as sports editor while I was away through 1945, did a tremendous and imaginative job in moving things toward the happy outcome.

I guess if I had to settle for an "epitaph" for the *Daily Worker* sports section, I would take a line from the book "Roy Campanella" by Dick Young (Most Valuable Player Series, 1951, A.S. Barnes.) Telling of the paper arranging a tryout for Roy and two others with the Pittsburgh Pirates, the book speaks of "...the *Daily Worker*, communistic organ which pounded hard and unceasingly against the color line in organized ball." Good enough.

If you were asked to advise someone trying to develop a popular socialist sports journalism today about how they should approach their task, what would you say? What should they emphasize and what should they avoid?

I have no pretentious "elder statesman" advice. Ours, first of all, was a daily newspaper, sold on newsstands, trying to compete daily with other papers, which dictated part of the way we had to go. We were in a socially turbulent period when for good or ill the CP was the powerhouse by far of the socialist left. The *Daily Worker* was a relatively small newspaper, but in the '30s and early '40s it had a stone-in-the-pond effect in the nation which is difficult for people to appreciate from this remove. The big issue was wide open and begging for us. There is little parallel today that I can see.

Many of the things wrong in the sports world are dealt with vigorously if a bit ponderously by ARENA, an "institute for sport and social analysis" with a regular publication, edited by Richard Lapchick of Virginia Wesleyan University.

I guess I would be presumptuous enough after all to say something bromidic: Any approach to sports by any newspaper seeking to engage the attention of many more Americans than it has now must perceive the "sports world" in its full dimensions—just as it does the rest of life—neither the joyless wage-slave caricature nor the rah-rah Jack Armstrong idyl.

Don't talk down to fans, don't be afraid or ashamed to thrill to the excitement of a classic double play in a close game or an 80-yard run from scrimmage helped by a perfect downfield block. There is not the slightest contradiction in being a sports fan and in being angry at whatever and whoever distorts sports and sportsmanship. On the contrary.

IN THESE TIMES

Editorial

Middle East compromise floating on oil

The Middle East is the crossroads of three of the world's great religions. It is also the crossroads of geographical "accident" (oil cast upon holy waters) and historical "necessity" (modern capitalism, imperialism, class struggles, national liberation movements) that confound simple generalizations. It is both the mount of hope resurrected—hope for humanity's progress beyond parochial divisions—and the sepulcher of clear-cut postulates about right and wrong, good and evil.

Oil has made the Middle East a main crossroads of world commerce, as in the distant past. Oil is the elixir that holds political thinking about the Middle East down to earth and that also tends to lift it up to a perspective beyond narrow and short-sighted views.

The OPEC oil-pricing council is scheduled to meet in December in Caracas, Venezuela. President Carter is aiming to convene the Middle East conference in Geneva no later than December. The two are related.

The economies of the U.S. and the other industrial capitalist countries are more intertwined with and dependent upon relations with the Arab oil economies than before the October war and the oil embargo of 1973. They need oil imports from Arab lands, but they are also increasingly dependent on OPEC markets for western exports, investments, and jobs. In the past four years Western and Japanese exports to the oil-exporting countries have tripled or quadrupled. They now amount to \$45 billion annually. The structure of U.S. and Western finance, and the prospects for currency and investment stability, moreover, are intimately bound up with the \$50 billion deposited in American banks from Middle Eastern countries.

The Arab governments have made it clear to the U.S. government that unless substantial progress is made toward a Middle East peace settlement, they may not be able to resist growing internal pressures to use the oil and oil dollars for poli-

tical purposes. That would confront the West with economic disaster and the irresistible temptation to abandon Israel altogether or to resort to interventionist adventures. The use of force, however, would not solve the economic problems, and would probably split the U.S. from its western European and Japanese allies, who are less and less sympathetic to an intransigent Israel.

The Arab governments and ruling classes for the most part do not want an international economic breakdown. Nor do the Soviet leaders, for reasons of substantial political and economic interests. It is not clear what the Israeli government and ruling class wants in this respect as their policies drive Israel toward greater international isolation.

Fear of an impending world capitalist economic catastrophe and political crisis, not simply solicitude for Israel and the Arabs, gave rise to the State department's policy statement last June 28 warning that "progress toward a negotiated peace in the Middle East is essential *this year* if future disaster is to be avoided" (emphasis added). The U.S. government is racing toward a Geneva conference to head off dire consequences at Caracas.

The fate of both Israel and the Palestinians rests, as in the past, with forces, including some they have made themselves, that they do not control. But those forces, rooted now more in material interests than in chavistic, religious, or jingoistic passions and reveries, are pushing the U.S. and the Soviet Union, as well as the Arabs (including the Palestinians) and Israel, toward compromise.

If that compromise accomplishes Arab recognition of Israel as a nation, Israeli recognition of Palestinian rights to self-determination, including the right to statehood, Israeli return substantially to its pre-1967 borders, and treaty secured normalization of relations between Israel and its Arab neighbors, then it is worth rushing to Geneva for compromise.

A peaceful Middle East based on that



FELLOW TRAVELER

kind of settlement will be more conducive to the fulfillment of the legitimate national aspirations of Israel and the Palestinians than continued hostilities that make them both little more than pawns in great power world—and oil—politics. It will also be more conducive to the revitalization and growth of democratic and socialist movements within Israel and the Arab countries.

American socialists may be of service to Israeli and Arab working peoples not by taking the side of one against the other, not by rubber-stamping the immediate policy-positions of one side or the other, but by lending a critical perspective that

comes with distance.

American socialists may be of best service in the short run by contributing to our own people's understanding of the Middle East peoples' aspirations for self-determination, democracy and socialism, and in the long run by contributing to the growth of such aspirations among the American people themselves. Success in the latter endeavor would hasten the day when working class interests and principles of socialist international cooperation and friendship, rather than oil and capitalist political economy, will govern American foreign policy. ■

Did Bakke lose out to privileged whites?

On October 12 the U.S. Supreme Court will hear arguments in a case that could profoundly affect the future of affirmative action programs around the country. A white man, Allan Bakke, is suing the University of California at Davis, charging that he was denied admission to the Davis medical school because of an affirmative action program.

It has never been clearly established in the California courts that Bakke's rejection by the Davis medical school was due to the affirmative action program. For this reason, the Justice department's *amicus curiae* brief in the case asks the Supreme Court to remand the case to the California courts for further determination of the facts of the medical school's admission practices, and otherwise to deny Bakke's contention that affirmative action is unconstitutional.

Now it is reported by Tim Nesbitt in a copyrighted story in the *East Bay Voice* (Oakland, Calif.) that in 1973, when Bakke claims he was improperly denied admission, the Dean, C. John Tupper, intervened in the admissions process on behalf of five whites in order to put them ahead of other white applicants with initially higher scores. "The dean's preferential appointments were a regular practice at Davis until 1976 when University of California president David Saxon ordered

EXCLUSIVE
The East Bay Voice
An Opposition Newsweekly for the East Bay
June 11, Number 6

Bakke Passed Over For White VIPs

The dean's use of his authority in favor of influential applicants has seriously complicated the most important civil rights case to come before the U.S. Supreme Court since 1954.

National Day of Protest
Should the U.S. Supreme Court uphold the Bakke decision of admission to medical schools on the basis of race, a national day of protest will be held. A coalition of minority groups has called for a National Day of Protest against the Bakke decision on October 15.

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them stopped. The preference went to members of influential families.

Peter Storandt, former assistant dean, who reviewed Bakke's application in 1973, and who was second in command in the admissions procedures, states that "there's a better than even chance that Bakke would have been admitted had it not been for the dean's appointments."

Bakke's rejection by the medical school, therefore, may have been the result of the dean's appointments and not of the 16 (of 100) places reserved for minority students. That possibility has never been examined by the California trial court or Supreme Court.

Frank Ochoa, one of 13 lawyers who prepared the National Urban League's *amicus curiae* brief in the Bakke case, points out that the university's arguments at the trial court were weakened "because they did not want to go into the [admissions] records," to avoid embarrassment by the dean's preferential admissions practices.

Bakke's lawyer Reynold Colvin, moreover, now says that neither he nor Bakke were aware of the dean's appointments when they filed suit, although Lisa Keller, a former student member of the admissions committee at the Davis medical school, recalls that "we published articles in the school paper and we made a stink at

faculty meetings... It had always been known and not dealt with." Colvin concedes that had he and Bakke known about the dean's preferential appointments, they could have become an issue in the case.

The facts in the Bakke case, as they become better—and belatedly—known, raise more questions about "affirmative action" routinely accorded the privileged in recruitment to medical (and other professional) schools than they do about the constitutionality of affirmative action for the underprivileged. They also suggest that Davis' affirmative action program was (and may still be) ill-devised, and that the university's commitment to its success was less than sincere.

Sooner or later the constitutionality of affirmative action and the methods of implementing it will be definitely settled by the U.S. Supreme Court, but it appears more and more that the Bakke case is not the occasion for doing so.

If anything, the Bakke case should open the way for a detailed investigation of the admissions practices of medical and other professional schools, as well as those of colleges and universities in general, to determine the extent to which they are biased against non-whites and the poor, and to apply appropriate remedies wherever necessary. ■

Letters

More on American soldiers in Vietnam

Editor:

Gillenkirk's review of Heinemann's *Close Quarters* (ITT, Aug. 31) simply does not ask the tough questions. Any book about American soldiers in Vietnam is first of all a book about blacks, other minorities, and working-class whites. These groups disproportionately constituted the Army's, and Marine Corps', combat units. It will not do then to describe Heinemann's characters, as Gillenkirk does, as "archetypal American men." If Heinemann fails to raise class issues, the reviewer in a left publication has the responsibility to tell us so.

According to Gillenkirk, *Close Quarters* will be a controversial book because it implies "rank-and-file culpability." This is a difficult question to treat in a brief review, but Gillenkirk accepts Heinemann's experience far too uncritically and draws unjustified conclusions from it.

There is no question that atrocities, as the grossest expression of "rank-and-file culpability," were committed by individual soldiers—atrocities that were not expressly "ordered." But to understand the war and its atrocities is to understand the context: 25 years of virulent anti-communism, a deep and pervasive racism, and the obscene nature of counter-revolutionary warfare as practised by a major power against the people of the Third World. In retrospect, the remarkable thing about the war may well be that so many ordinary soldiers acted as morally as they could in the face of situations which were, in Robert Jay Lifton's terms, "atrocities producing."

The unwritten history of the war is the history of infantry medics who refused to carry weapons, of whole units refusing to enter Cambodia and Laos, of individual and collective acts of resistance, and of more subtle acts of sabotage. To argue this is not to deny Heinemann's experience, but to suggest that Gillenkirk had a responsibility to balance the argument.

Gillenkirk states, in his conclusion, that the war was caused by the "blind aggressiveness of the American soldier" and gives this supposed "cause" equal billing with imperialism and militarism. This is a startling failure of logic and analysis. The actions of American soldiers were circumstances of the war, not causes of it.

Gary Kullik
Pawtucket, R.I.

Repeating old errors

Editor:

In your editorial, "Afro-Americans and Full Employment" (ITT, Sept. 24), you repeat an error of the old Socialist party when you write: "Racial prejudice and racist practices play their inveterate role in perpetuating this inequality, but if they were to disappear tomorrow the inequality would not...the property line is the key to the color line."

Consider: if the property line were to disappear tomorrow, would equality immediately ensue?

The Debs Socialists never saw the national question, the Negro question, the Jewish question, or the woman question as substantive and significant in themselves. They saw only the class question, and assumed these other questions would be solved as a by-product of solving the class question. Well, the experiences in socialist states in the past 60 years has shown that none of these questions is solved automatically as a by-product of solving the class question.

Communist theoreticians from the 1920s on had something of enduring val-

ue when they insisted that the Negro question was a special question, not *only* a class question. To underestimate white racism, or anti-Semitism, or sexism by seeing any of these as reducible to the class question and therefore solvable only in terms of solving the class question is, in fact, to delay solution of the class question itself.

That is why the black movement today makes affirmative action and preferential treatment central in its class struggle for jobs and upgrading. The blacks see the class question *plus* the national and do not chop logic as to which is "primary." It was an old bad habit of United States communists to insist that something was primary and then ignore the "secondary." We should be repeating neither the old Socialist nor old Communist errors.

-Morris U. Schappes
Editor, Jewish Currents
New York City

Editor's note: Morris Schappes' general point is well taken, and we agree with it. But we do not believe, nor did we argue, that one question is "primary" as against the other, only that they are interrelated. That does not, in our view, invalidate the point that "the property line is the key to the color line," any more than the latter should be taken to validate simplistic either/or formulas Schappes so cogently warns against.

Misspent resources

Editor:

As a legal worker, I object strenuously to your analysis of the struggle in the ACLU over their representation of the Nazis. Progressive legal people are constantly faced with the question of how to allocate scarce and precious resources.

The National Lawyers' Guild and the National Jury Project, which I belong to, make decisions daily as to which of the dozens of cases and issues needing legal work we should put our energy into, and how much of that energy we should spend on any one case. Where was the ACLU when the rights of Indian people to control their lives on the Pine Ridge Indian reservation were under attack? Where were they when the murderers of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark were on trial in Chicago? Where were they with all their resources and skills during these fights for Civil Liberties?

I'm sick to death of people defending the "courageous" stand of the ACLU in their fight for "our" rights to free speech. Let the Nazis and their corporate backers pay for as much legal representation as they want. Let them spend their energy in dealing with the legal system. The precious resources of competent legal people, whether they are "left" or "liberal," should be spent in support of movements for social change and against the repression by the state of those movements, not in support of the advocates of racial hatred.

-Diane Wiley
Minneapolis, Minn.

Lover's inquiry

Editor:

I wish to thank you for your nice review of *Star Wars*. Being it is my favorite movie of all centuries. To date I've seen it 75 times.

Been a long time since I've enjoyed anything so much. In the process I fell in love with that beautiful flying ship Millennium Falcon. If you or any of your readers know anything about this trim little craft, please write to me. Again, thank you for your fine review.

-Lynn Folsom
Los Angeles

Drunk on statistics

Editor:

As a recovered alcoholic and a mental health worker of six years standing, I feel that there are some serious problems with the detox centers Howard Herunstadt is advocating (ITT, Sept. 21).

A striking feature around any detox center is that the majority of clients continue to drink, using the center for temporary shelter in maintaining the lifestyle. Few clients attain permanent sobriety, and these tend to be middle class people who can find satisfying alternatives to drinking.

Often these facts are hidden by promoters of alcoholism programs who prefer to work with days-of-sobriety-per-client-per-year statistics, which are meaningless for anyone whose next drunk could kill them.

Most detox facilities encourage alcoholic drinking. In their need to generate statistics (for example, clients-treated-per-month), detoxes find it hard to turn away clients who systematically abuse the facility. They frequently must accept anyone referred by police or hospitals, even if the client is known to be cynical about treatment.

A more sensible approach to alcoholism would be to let jails and hospitals continue to handle detoxification. Alcoholism workers could visit clients there and treatment emphasis could be given to long-term half-way-house type programs where clients get meaningful social and economic support.

Herunstadt should have mentioned why detoxes are cheaper than jails and hospitals. The paraprofessional workers who do most of the work in them are frequently hired at minimum wages.

-Hank Vandenburg
Sebastopol, Calif.

A word for the South

Editor:

Jim Aronson's recent essay on courageous journalists (ITT, Aug. 17) was much deserved recognition of their work and steadfastness. As he has so often in the past, Jim demonstrated his sensitivity to those fighting spirits who never make the national media's headlines.

Nevertheless, the column could have been enriched with the inclusion of some of the Southern and Appalachian newspaper persons whose lives and work has made a significant difference in their communities and in our region. Tom Gish, editor of the Mountain Eagle in Whitesburg, Kentucky, comes to mind immediately. So do Helen Brannon Smith and J. Oliver Emmerich in Mississippi. Reed Sarat lost his job as editor of the Winston-Salem newspapers back in the late Fifties for supporting the Supreme Court's decision in the Brown case.

Journalists with high standards and unyielding principle live and still work in the South and in Appalachia. Persons of such caliber are not confined to the North.

-Frank Adams
Gatesville, N.C.

Back-seat driver

Editor:

Jean-Pierre Cot's claim (ITT, Sept. 21) that "Differences of opinion...should be overcome by mid-September, at the summit meeting of Mitterrand, George Marchais, and Robert Fabre" is followed three days later by the *New York Times* report of the apparent collapse of the French Left Alliance. Even if the *Times* exaggerates, Cot's inability to foresee the present rupture despite his high-level PSF position, shows how much ITT needs analysts some distance from the "organized Left" to give a clear picture of European affairs.

Cot also writes that "The nuclear protest marches may create such opportunity [for violence leading to insecurity]." Yet violence at French anti-nuclear marches has been primarily police violence against peaceful marchers. The "organized Left" could move to reduce such violence by joining the marchers. Given this week's electoral alliance self-destruction, the "organized Left's" pandering position on the anti-nuclear issue is laughable.

There is more irony in the "organized Left's" backwardness on nuclear power.

As evidence mounts that nuclear power is dangerous to working-class health and that labor-intensive solar energy is more job-creating, proponents of nuclear power will surely lose, not gain, votes. In fact, the PCF's staunch support of nuclear power, in the face of working-class health and job needs, is profoundly anti-communist.

Though I am often disappointed in ITT, you still have my critical support. On European affairs, if the choices are between foreign correspondent Johnstone, PCF apologist Bernie Moss and PSF bureaucrat Jean-Pierre Cot, I'll take Diana Johnstone's "back-seat driving" any day.

-Leland Neuberg
Stony Brook, N.Y.

Anti-tenure drivels hurts

Editor:

Of course, not everyone teaching should be; there must be checks on this. Yes, students are being passed on untaught; this must be stopped. But is ITT so hard up for material that it prints Nat Hentoff's indictment of teachers (Sept. 28) that conetns itself with blaming the negligence of teachers and the tenure system? Is it a socialist perspective to want to do away with one of the few gains in a long, bitter battle for job security in the jungles of the free enterprise system?

Can Hentoff and the sources he quotes imagine what it is to have to "teach" 40 nine-year-olds, interspersed with a few 12-year-olds? The difference this makes in an inner-city school or a suburban school?

What does it concretely mean to help Johnny who is having special troubles? Where does the help come from? After teaching seven hours and facing three more for correcting papers, hopefully not from Johnny's (untentured?) fourth-grade teacher! If America and the experts Hentoff quotes wanted to prepare for a responsible democratic future by focusing on the genesis of that future in its schools, they could.

But the drivels about malpractice of teachers, the disease of tenure, etc. is just another way of saying that we want the elite tradition to perpetuate itself and the "disadvantaged" to remain so. ITT: It hurts to say it, but you are slipping. Please leave the liberal news "services" in the garbage can.

-James G. Hart
Bloomington, Ind.

Correction: Last week's column, "The Supreme Court: Forward or Bakke?" was written by Norty Wheeler, an ITT associate in Tucson, Ariz. His by-line was dropped by mistake.

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

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Ed Greer

Carter's urban plan to pay corporations for more of same



Let's blow the whistle on Carter's urban "program" before it ever gets formally presented. If we do so right now, we'll be in a much better position to carry on a campaign for something real; as opposed to waiting until the matter is in the policy-making process and trying both to veto it and substitute something of merit. If leaking the contours of the "program" to the *New York Times* (Aug. 31, 1977) was intended as a trial balloon, that is all the more reason to take a resolute stand right now.

The "program" is evolving as follows. A Cabinet-level study group—located in the Department of Housing and Urban Development—was set up, and it delegated its work to an urban development task force in the Treasury department. Apparently the key members of this task force are Robert Altman, Assistant Treasury Secretary for Domestic Finance and J. Chester Johnson, Assistant Treasury Secretary for State and Local Finance. Their last jobs respectively were partner in the Lehman Brothers investment banking firm and vice president of the Morgan Guaranty Trust Company.

Naturally, their "program" amounts to a series of incentives to manufacturing, real estate, and financial interests to induce them to increase their urban investments. Having correctly diagnosed that "secular economic decline is the core urban problem," these banking officials—fresh from observing the triumph of their colleagues in the New York City fiscal crisis—propose that it be solved on the cheap.

Establishment economists like to pontificate that "there is no free lunch" with respect to economic matters; and this homily surely applies with respect to Carter's new "program." Before ever examining its components, common sense dictates that a proposal whose total cost to the federal government will be \$1 billion is too desultory to do the job.

Since 1970 the annual purchasing power of central city residents (as a consequence of absolute population loss and the substitution of poor for middle-income families) has dropped by \$40 billion. The federal diversion of funds from the industrialized, urbanized northeast and midwest to the sunbelt runs about \$20 billion annually. And over the past decade the proportion of new housing investment in the northeast has dropped from 18 percent to 10 percent of the total. Similarly, the proportion of national commercial and manufacturing investment in the region has declined from 22 percent to 11 percent.

Carter reneges.

This unfolding catastrophe of massive urban capital disinvestment is paralleled internationally by massive capital exports to client states around the world. Together, these profit-maximizing shifts underlie the urban crisis, declining real income for the working class, and massive structural unemployment.

When Carter ran for the Presidency, he demagogically promised the trade unionists, mayors, black political leaders and liberal leaders of popular civic organiza-

tions that he would, in contrast to the conservative Republicans, positively respond to this crisis.

After his election Carter quickly moved to suspend legislative initiatives for full employment on behalf of "fiscal integrity"; he indefinitely tabled welfare reform and national health insurance; he advanced human rights in the Soviet bloc rather than at home or in nations under American hegemony. The new urban "program" is of a piece with Carter's complete subordination to monopoly capital.

Today the scope of reforms necessary to reverse the catastrophic human effects of the urban crisis would require unprecedented governmental *undermining* of private profits. For instance, strict controls over the flow of capital would be needed to prevent further urban redlining and the loss of manufacturing jobs. But as Claus Offe has recently reminded those who think Lenin is obsolete, the capitalist state intrinsically functions to serve the interests of monopoly capital: foremost by protecting the realization of surplus value by the oligopolies.

That is why Carter's urban "program" proposes to bribe the capitalists to rebuild the cities, instead of compelling them to stop bleeding them to death. The three components of the "program" are all fraudulent.

A corporate program.

The first is to permit private business to engage directly in urban renewal by giv-

ing them money to assemble large metropolitan parcels for new construction. No American city has yet been saved by urban renewal and there is no reason to think that any additional program will now succeed. When generous enough, such measures may induce direct investment in the given project. But their rationale is that this in turn will stimulate new private investment elsewhere in the same city.

As anyone can tell by looking at the slums adjacent to existing urban renewal projects, no such spillover effect exists. One billion dollars of land subsidies, while a windfall for urban real estate developers, is not likely to have more than a marginal impact on the trend of manufacturers and commercial interests to desert the cities.

The other two components of the "program" are the creation of tax-exempt industrial revenue bonds for new urban investments, and having a federal agency create a secondary market for these securities by buying, guaranteeing, and re-selling them. They surely will represent a windfall for banking investment houses such as Lehman Brothers and Morgan Guaranty. They will not, however, do anything to reverse urban disinvestment.

According to the *New York Times*, this "program" is Carter's response to "the recent criticism by black leaders" about neglecting the poor and the cities. If so, it is an effort at plantation politics.

Edward Greer is a former aide of Mayor Richard G. Hatcher of Gary, Ind., and teaches urban studies at Roosevelt University, Chicago.

Sidney Lens

Has nuclear warfare repealed the right to life?

More than any other recent President, Jimmy Carter has spoken of his concern for the people's rights. But there is one right bestowed on Carter by a combination of technology and the imperial presidency that cancels out the constitutional guarantees of every American citizen: the unchecked power to press a button and initiate a nuclear war that would kill hundreds of millions of people around the world—including one-half of the U.S. population.

The Constitution, of course, prohibits the president from initiating war, nuclear or otherwise. It vests that right exclusively in the Congress. But Congress has abdicated its responsibility to the President under the rationale that it takes only 30 minutes for a missile with a nuclear warhead to reach American soil from the Soviet Union, less if the missile is launched from a nuclear submarine. Obviously you can't assemble 535 members of Congress to debate and vote the issue in those 15 or 30 minutes.

But oddly enough, under the program called Crisis Relocation (CR) the Pentagon's Defense Civil Preparedness Agency says it will have "plenty of time"—days and probably weeks—while diplomats negotiate, to evacuate citizens from the cities and place them in mines, caves and rural areas on the eve of a nuclear war. CR does not explain why Congress can't be assembled during those days or weeks to debate and vote, or why a popular referendum could not be conducted.

The answer probably is that if Congress or the people voted *against* a nuclear war the American diplomats would have no "bargaining chips" in their negotiations with the Russians. The Soviets, it is said, would make no concession if the nuclear threat were removed. Thus the right of survival has been replaced by the right to be a "bargaining chip."

Americans have not discussed—or no-

The President has the unchecked power to press the nuclear button. High American officials feared Nixon might do so to avoid ouster. Have we lost our right to life?

ticed—this loss of their prerogative because they do not believe nuclear war will ever come. The great stockpiles of warheads, they think, are there simply to enforce a permanent stalemate, or "balance of terror."

Near misses.

The U.S. has enough missiles to destroy the Soviet Union; they have enough to destroy us—no matter who strikes first. Since each knows that nuclear war, in General Douglas MacArthur's phrase, is "double-suicide," neither superpower will start one.

There are several difficulties with this conventional wisdom. The most worrisome is that since 1950 there have been 13 occasions when the U.S. actively considered using the bomb. Five of these resulted from misreading of radar, as in the 1950 alert, when the early-warning system in Canada picked up formations of unidentified objects headed toward Washington.

The "objects" ultimately disappeared from the screen, ending the crisis; Secretary of Defense Robert A. Lovett's best guess was that radar had picked up a flock of geese. A decade later another panic developed when radar evidently echoed off the moon. In 1971 there were three such instances.

Six times, however, the U.S. seriously debated or threatened the use of nuclear bombs. President Eisenhower told the Chinese and North Koreans in 1953 he would use nuclear weapons if they did not come to terms. In 1954 the U.S. of-

fered France three nuclear bombs to use against the Viet Minh at Dienbienphu. The British and the Senate majority leader, Lyndon Johnson, dissuaded Eisenhower.

Four years later, the Joint Chiefs of Staff recommended, and the National Security Council temporarily approved, employment of nuclear weapons in the Quemoy-Matsu crisis. President Kennedy's team was prepared to drop nuclear bombs on Laos in 1961 and to use them during the Berlin crisis. According to Gen. William Westmoreland, former U.S. commander in Vietnam, nuclear weapons were suggested when U.S. forces were besieged at the Khe Sanh outpost.

On two occasions the near-misses involved the two superpowers directly, and could have resulted in total war. In 1962, during the Cuban missile crisis, the U.S. and the Soviet Union were closer to nuclear war than before or since.

And in October 1973, during the Yom Kippur war in the Middle East, a Soviet ship with nuclear bombs was dispatched to Alexandria, Egypt, while Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger declared a worldwide nuclear alert. According to a reliable Pentagon source, Kissinger ordered the removal of hatch covers from America's land-based ICBMs—a move intended to be photographed by Russian satellites as proof that America meant business.

Unchecked executive action.

Secretary of War Henry Stimson told an elite committee in May 1945 that the atom bomb represents "a revolutionary change

in the relations of man and the universe." Yet in none of the 13 near-misses, including the five accident situations and the two superpower confrontations that might have launched total war, did an American president consider seeking approval of Congress or the people.

Enlargement of the concept of "executive power" widened after World War II to mean presidents could engage in "acts of war," such as CIA-sponsored *coups d'etat*, without the sanction of Congress, and even that they could conduct actual wars, such as in Vietnam or the landing in the Dominican Republic, on the theory that these "police actions" were within their prerogative as commanders-in-chief.

After the 1962 missile crisis, Kennedy stated that had nuclear war broken out, "even the fruits of victory would have been ashes in our mouths." All that the U.S. had been able to build in three centuries, he said, would have been destroyed within 18 hours. Yet he did not seek any form of approval for what he was doing.

The end result has been further erosion of a basic American principle, accountability—the right of a citizen to be protected from arbitrary acts by a tyrant or an hysteric through an elaborate system of checks and balances.

At least insofar as the "right to life" is concerned that principle has been eviscerated. This point was brought home forcefully a few years ago when President Nixon was on the verge of impeachment for the Watergate crimes. There was genuine fear in high places at the time that he might use his "black box" (with the button in it) to launch a nuclear adventure that might save him from being ousted.

It was a revealing punctuation to the loss of the most hallowed of all rights, the right to life.

*Sidney Lens is a veteran journalist. His latest book is *The Day Before Doomsday* for Doubleday.*

Interior department issues tough regulations

A "bloody battle" is expected over the proposed regulations which limit ownership of land to 160 acres.

WASHINGTON—On Aug. 22 Secretary of the Interior Cecil Andrus announced a set of regulations that would enforce, for the first time, a piece of legislation enacted in 1902. Issued through the Interior department's Bureau of Reclamation, the regulations would enforce the Reclamation Act of 1902, a piece of legislation designed to ensure that the benefits of federal water projects went to small farmers, not absentee landowners.

The proposed regulations, which do not take effect for 90 days, come in the wake of a 1976 federal district court victory by National Land for People, a Fresno, Calif., based organization of small farmers and would-be small farmers that has been working to secure enforcement of the Reclamation Act. (See accompanying story.) The regulations will affect all federal water projects west of the Mississippi River, encompassing about two million acres in 17 states.

The proposed regulations provide that owners of land watered through Bureau of Reclamation and Army Corps of Engineers projects must sell "excess land" to the Bureau of Reclamation at fair market prices. The Bureau, in turn, will make that land available to new owners. (Under the 1902 law "excess land" consists of all land receiving federal project water in excess of a 160-acre limitation for individual owners, and 320 acres for husband and wife owners.)

The Bureau will then sell the land at "pre-improvement" (i.e., without irriga-

tion water) prices. This should preclude "windfall profits," says Interior department officials.

Land owners, under the proposal, must also live on their land or "in the neighborhood." Interior proposes to define the neighborhood as within 50 miles of the property, however. No land will be sold to multiple owners, except for family-based partnerships or trusts.

When land is available, the Bureau will announce it publicly and then choose—via lottery or other "impartial means"—new owners from among a list of interested buyers. The new owners will be prohibited from leasing their land back to the original seller (a common practice today). In addition, all sale prices, not just on the original sale but on all subsequent sales during the next decade, will have to be approved by the Interior department.

New land ownership pattern.

The department says that this system will create a land ownership pattern more in keeping with what the drafters of the 1902 law had in mind—small-scale family farms.

Under current procedures, landowners may hold more than the law's acreage limits and still receive federal irrigation water if they agree to sell their "excess" during a specified period, generally 10 years. However, landowners have been permitted to sell to whomever they wished, which has led to a variety of complicated land ownership and leasing schemes to circumvent the law's limitations. In the Westlands Water District in California's San Joaquin Valley—the battleground for National Land for People's lawsuit—sales have not gone to small farmers but to a complex set of interlocking financial interests connected to the original sellers.

Final regulations will be set after a 90-day comment period, during which time Interior officials expect to be deluged with criticisms and lobbying from big landowners. They also anticipate legal challenges

from landowners in the 17 western states affected by the new rules. Departmental officials generally remain noncommittal about the expected onslaught of corporate lobbying, although one spokesperson admitted that the property-taking issue and the residency requirements will undoubtedly arouse "concern."

A "bloody battle."

An example of this concern came to light at the end of September when it was revealed that an Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, Robert H. Meyer, who owns substantial land holdings in California's Imperial Valley, had approached members of Congress, White House officials and other members of the Carter administration seeking to have the Imperial Valley excluded from the new regulations.

Meyer and his family reportedly own and lease more than 2,000 acres in the valley, and would have to sell their "excess" if the regulations were applied there.

Meyer defended his actions, saying that he was only acting as a "private citizen" and that he had taken precautions to avoid any appearance of speaking for the administration.

Small farm advocates, like Peggy Borgers of Rural America, a Washington-based rural advocacy group, also foresee a "bloody battle" over the regulations, pitting the powers-that-be in western agriculture against the Interior department's good intentions.

Russell Giffen, whose attempted sale of acreage in the Westlands aroused the original NLP legal challenge, termed the new regulations "outrageous." The *San Francisco Chronicle* also entered the fray, editorially arguing that the 1902 acreage limits should be changed and saying that the family farm was obsolete in California.

Could go further.

Activists who have been working for years for the enforcement of the 1902 act, on the

other hand, are happy with the proposed regulations, but think the Interior department could go further. Brent Blackwelder of the Environmental Policy Center, who has been lobbying to make federal water policy more responsible to those it was designed to serve, says the new regulations are "a turning point, a landmark in the sense that all previous administrations have been so bad on this issue."

Al Krebs of the Agribusiness Accountability Project in San Francisco says the rules are "ok," but views the 50-mile definition of "neighborhood" as unacceptable, since in the San Joaquin Valley such a definition opens up the possibility that landowners could live in urban centers like Fresno. He, along with National Land for People, will argue for a 15-mile definition—for California lands at least.

Krebs sees another problem—one that tougher regulations cannot solve: the high cost of farm land, even at "unimproved prices." "Excess" land in Westlands will sell for \$750 an acre (about half the present market value), which means that a new farm family would need \$250,000 to buy the 320 acres to which they are entitled.

Krebs and others believe that without a complementary program to make low interest loans readily available to those seeking excess lands, the truly landless and resourceless will continue to be shut out of a process intended to help them.

Interior officials admit that no such plan is in the offing.

It is clear that with the "bloody battle" foreseen by small farm advocates almost a certainty, the Carter administration will have to dig in its heels in defense of its present plan if the regulations are to remain as tough as they are now.

Catherine Lerza is agriculture editor of the Elements, a publication of the Public Resource Center in Washington, D.C. She is currently working on a book on agricultural policy.

Reclaiming the land

Continued from page 3.

Current efforts to enforce the Reclamation Act of 1902 stem from the efforts of a handful of people who kept alive the knowledge of the law and kept up the pressure, often very much alone, for its enforcement. Chief among these is Paul S. Taylor, now Professor of Economics Emeritus at the University of California at Berkeley.

Taylor discovered the Reclamation Act while working as a consultant to the Interior department in 1943. He was shocked at the failure to enforce its acreage limitation and residency requirements, and has dedicated the years since that time to securing their enforcement.

Taylor has written more than 40 law review and scholarly articles on the Reclamation Act. He has written countless letters to editors and testified before Congress at various times. His message has always been the same—enforce the law.

It was Taylor's habit of writing letters that got him in touch with George Ballis, the editor of a small labor paper in Fresno during the '50s.

Getting the Westlands project.

Ballis had helped Bernie Sisk, a young liberal Democrat, get elected to Congress. Ballis wrote an editorial asking why so many of the "big money farm-types" were coming around the office of "small-farm-boy" Bernie Sisk.

Taylor wrote to Ballis, saying, "I'll tell you what they want, son," and described the push by corporate growers, who had formed the Westlands Water District in 1952, to get the federal government to help replenish their sinking water table.

"Small-farm-boy" Sisk went on to push a federal irrigation project for the valley with his friends on the House Interior committee in 1959, arguing that without federal aid "most of the culti-

vated land which is the basis of their economy will revert to desert."

Sisk promoted the project, which would benefit roughly a thousand landowners, most absentee, in the name of the Reclamation Act, painting a picture of 5,000 new family farms on newly watered land.

Congress liked the picture and approved the country's largest federally-subsidized irrigation project to bring cheap water from northern California to the Westlands.

Today, a few more than 200 landowners in the Westlands District benefit from a federal subsidy worth more than a billion dollars by conservative estimates.

National Land for People.

The federal water project in the Westlands is nearly finished. What of the enforcement of the Reclamation Act?

If it were enforced the great ranches should, by now, have been broken into hundreds of smaller, family-sized operations. But a two-month search in 1976 by two *San Francisco Examiner* reporters, Lynn Ludlow and Will Hearst (a grandson of William Randolph Hearst), discovered only two small family farms in the whole 572,000-acre district.

Taylor and Ballis opposed the project from the beginning, arguing that it would be the greatest boondoggle in the history of the Reclamation Act. They were joined by others, and in 1974 formed National Land for People.

Composed of small farmers, mostly family farmers around Fresno, and farmworkers, mostly Chicanos who work on the large corporate farms in the area, many of whom would also like to buy their own land, NLP is an unusual combination, bringing together two traditionally hostile groups. Most of the farmer members, however, have small operations

that employ few, if any, farm laborers. Many sympathize with the farmworkers in their conflicts with corporate growers and see farmworker efforts to raise the value of their labor as also raising the value of their own labor on the farm.

Public attention.

NLP began a research and education program around land ownership in the Westlands, the Reclamation Act, its enforcement and the effects on the land and community. Through their efforts what was happening in the Westlands began to get more public attention.

In February 1976 the U.S. Senate committees on Interior and Small Businesses held hearings in Fresno, documenting a long history of subterfuge and violation of the law.

Sen. Gaylord Nelson (D-Wis.), chairman of the Small Business committee, charged angrily that "there are people out there not intending to farm, who do not farm at all; not a damn one ever farms at it and yet we say we are implementing the law. That circumvents the whole intent and purpose."

NLP and other investigators went on to document a shuffle of land ownership in which land is sold or resold or leased to former associates, syndicates, foreign corporations or Caribbean-based tax havens, while the original owners continue to operate with large, 5,000 or more tracts.

NLP lawyer Mary Louise Frampton took this evidence to a Washington district court, and in August 1976 the court issued an injunction against the Bureau of Reclamation, prohibiting it from approving any excess land sales until it brought its rules into accord with the Reclamation Act.

In another case the Supreme Court refused to hear an appeal of a lower court that the Reclamation Act and the Omnibus Adjustment Act of 1926 applied to U.S. Corps of Engineers projects as well as to Bureau of Reclamation Projects. This, in effect, doubled the number of acres in the West affected by the act, bringing the total to about two million

acres in 17 states.

In response to this public pressure, and in response to the district court order, the Interior department on Aug. 22 proposed regulations to enforce the Reclamation laws. (See accompanying story.) After a 90-day period in which citizens can comment on the proposed regulations and suggest changes, the department will issue final regulations.

Stronger requirements.

National Land for People, while generally approving of the new regulations, is pushing for even stiffer requirements. They would require that:

- Owners live on or within 15 miles of their land (as opposed to Interior's proposed 50 miles—Ballis points out that the 50-mile limit would allow "every speculator in Fresno" to own land. NLP would give buyers one year to establish residency.)
- Owners farm their property on a daily, on-site basis.
- Undivided interest holdings be allowed only for husband and wife.
- Trusts not be allowed to own federally irrigated land.
- Owners be able to lease their land for up to two years only if both the owner and the lessee are operating farmers who do not lease or own more than 160 acres.
- Partnerships be allowed to own more than 160 acres only if all the partners are resident operating farmers on a daily, on-site basis.
- Corporations be allowed to own up to 640 acres only if each has at least four shareholders (a one-shareholder corporation may own up to 160 acres) and all shareholders, officers, directors are resident operating farmers.

Heartened as they are by the recent swing of events in their direction, proponents of strict enforcement of reclamation laws are wary of predicting victory. As George Ballis told a *New Times* reporter recently, "We've made a lot more progress than we've ever made. But our members remind us we don't have the land for them. They say, 'That our decision was wonderful—but where is the dirt?'"

LIFE IN THE U.S.

EDUCATION

Zephyros: learning to do it yourself

By Janet Spiegelman
SAN FRANCISCO—Five years ago Ron Jones sat in his basement on Stanyon Street, near Golden Gate Park, and put together his own textbook. Children, artists, friends and fellow teachers helped. What emerged was an 80-page workbook—a “primer”—of unorthodox learning experiences.

Exercises included sending high school students to follow the mayor for a week and keep detailed records; or, perhaps to tail a cop for a day. It suggested sending little kids off to find the most magical person in their neighborhood, or the item in the grocery store that came from farthest away.

“It was loaded with life,” Jones explains, “with humor, grace, and imagination—it was a real book.” He considers it the ultimate compliment that several copies were stolen.

An idea trading post.

Jones sold a refrigerator to get the \$628 to pay the printer and the post office for that issue. He sent the newsprint primer to a list of 2,000 teachers across the country. On the back page he introduced the Zephyros Education Exchange, “a unique way to see and use what other teachers are developing.”

An idea trading post/friendship network, Jones called it. He asked \$10 for membership plus optional contribution of favorite ideas, games, lesson plans. In return, members would get a big box of the compiled information twice a year. For Jones this was actualization of an old dream.

Ron Jones has a mild-mannered but rooted dedication as an educator. He has taught primary grades, high school, coached basketball, and worked with handicapped children. He directed an alternative curriculum program at Stanford, researched food-advocacy at Cal-Berkeley, taught in the Navajo nation at Chinle, Ariz., and remains on the board of Portola Institute. He was fired from his last teaching job, and hasn't been able to get another.

In most schools, Jones points out, teachers work independently in their own rooms with only their students and have little chance to see what other teachers do. The union, the American Federation of Teachers, mostly occupies itself with salary struggles, and the National Education Association, Jones says, seems too busy selling tires, insurance and charter flights to be an effective idea clearinghouse.

Tools encouraging action.

Zephyros thrived. Jones obviously gnashed his teeth in unison with thousands of other teachers. His needs were theirs. Heaps of thank you and encouragement letters arrived folded around checks for \$10. “We always received just enough money to do the next mailing,” says Jones, “that's how we measured our success.”

At first idea contributions dribbled in, a few tentative, pussy-foot suggestions prefaced with disclaimers. As the mailings expanded, teachers became encouraged in their own creativity. Ideas for games and projects came noted, “this one is great,” or “here's one you'll love!” Now Zephyros receives sophisticated contributions pasted-up or flats, printer-ready.

So far Zephyros boasts 19 teacher-made books from 46,000 contributors. Jones thinks of the books as teaching tools, encouraging children to act, create—to be doers; in contrast to traditional texts which encourage students to assimilate, absorb—to be consumers.

“The content of schooling is insigni-



Everyone joins in in stuffing the “Z boxes” at Zephyros.

Claire Greensfelder

Ron Jones obviously gnashed his teeth in unison with others. His Zephyros exchange thrived and grew.

ficant,” says Jones. “It's the process of learning that counts. The American process is one of competition and obedience. Each child is encouraged to compete against his/her neighbor and obey the teacher. The more competitive and obedient you are, the higher you're encouraged to strive. Throughout the process there is no place for group decision-making, cooperation, or invention. Follow the leader to become the leader. Kick shit out of anyone if they get in the way. Don't think. Don't criticize. Consume.”

Anarchy shock.

Zephyros fans from Florida, a professor of education and his wife, came to Stanyon Street to visit. They fell promptly into anarchy-shock. They expected desks, fluorescent lights, drinking fountains. They did not expect the valuable educational publications they admired so to come from somebody's basement.

Zephyros pays no salaries, has no offices, no secretaries, no overhead. Jones isn't in it for the money. It is not a business. Membership fees go into an account to pay for the next printing and mailing.

“You could be doing this yourself,” Ron told the professor visiting from Florida. “In fact, you *should* be doing this yourself, in Florida, with Florida resources and Florida parents....”

The best way to get an idea of the communal power of Zephyros is to participate in the semi-annual anarchy-in-action stuffing of the “Z” boxes. Volunteers show up. They barricade a block, set up tables on the sidewalk, load them with materials. Neighbors, friends, children, nuns, revolutionaries, girl scouts, grandparents all work.

Jones gives no directions. Everyone has an idea of what's to be done. People naturally start taking on roles. Someone starts singing a round. Someone checks the supplies. Another tells jokes. Someone passes information down the line. It always gets done, usually in two hours. Then they play softball in the park across the street and go for Chinese food. Who knows what would happen in Florida.

Take responsibility.

Jones is proud of Zephyros for having opened up the awareness that the only way to do it is to begin. He recites examples of those who have begun: a Massachusetts teacher who wrote his own science book; teacher-written history books; poets publishing their own works.

Our society tends to have us wait, says Jones. We're always told our reward is entrance to the next stage of life. If you're good in the first grade you get to go on to the second; if you're good in grade school

you get to go on to high school; if you're really good in high school you get to go on to college. If you're good in college you get to go on to the corporation, and if you excel there you get to go to suburbia, or Washington, or Heaven. What is needed, he feels, is for people to take responsibility for what is going on with and around them.

He sees a mass of contradictions growing between centralized large business and small groups like Zephyros wanting to regain some control of what their life is about. “We're building sand castles at the beach, and we're always pissed when a big wave comes and washes it all away, but we have to realize that that wave and that water are monumental forces and we're not going to make it go away by chanting ‘go away water, go away water.’”

The “Third Wave.”

Last August Ron Jones was out of a job again. His research project at Cal-Berkeley shriveled and died in the funding drought. He and his family made do on \$46 a week unemployment income. He had some time. He spent it in the basement. Although never having written before, Ron decided to try to put some of his teaching experiences into narrative form. A book of short stories resulted, self-published on newsprint. It went out to the Zephyros list.

Only a few months later, one of the stories had been reprinted in *Learning Magazine*, *East/West Journal*, *CoEvolution Quarterly*, *Psychology Today*, and *Der Spiegel*. The story, “The Third Wave,” is about his experience of fascism in the classroom. Its power is undeniable.

Jones received an offer to appear on the *Good Morning America* show with David Hartman to discuss his short stories. He went. After that he received 30 to 40 more offers for “The Third Wave.” Actors and actresses wanted it to exhibit their talents. Paramount Studios made an offer; so did the William Morris Agency and George Englund, Paul Newman's partner. But it was Norman (*All in the Family*, *Maude*, *Mary Hartman*, *Mary Hartman*) Lear who pulled out the plum. Ron accepted Lear's offer of \$10,000 for the option, plus \$50,000 for the rights to do the story as a play on Broadway.

For two days last November the Jones' living room was filled with producers, directors, agents, attorneys, show biz, big business, pastrami sandwiches, cigar smoke and a yapping chihuahua. Jones could see he was losing control. They negotiated in an idiom he couldn't fathom. The language and terminology and morality were foreign to him.

Now a movie.

Ron Jones is a simple man. His forehead is broad and high. He has a dimple in his chin. His cheeks are round pads beneath kind eyes. His voice is soft as a pitch-pipe and he blushes easily. But underneath it all is a fierce and cheerful warrior. Zephyros meant to him taking hold of his own destiny, and at the same time helping neighbors raise their figurative barns. The negotiations and cigar smoke in his living room were not what he had in mind.

He shut himself in the basement again—shut it all out. A few days later he emerged with another story. *The Acorn People* draws from counselling handicapped children one year at a summer camp. The children come alive. They get to you. They have humor, grace and imagination: they're real people.

He mailed the story, again on newsprint bound with staples, to the Zephyros network. Again, raves, praise, reviews and reprints.

This story will be a motion picture, but
Continued on page 20.

AFRO-AMERICANS

Was Marcus Garvey framed by feds?

By Linn Washington Jr.
The government is being called upon to account for one of its earliest subversive campaigns against a black leader—similar to the kind of campaign that was to be common under the FBI's COINTELPRO program of recent years.

Meeting recently in Philadelphia, the 27th International Convention of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) approved a resolution calling on the federal government to expunge the criminal record and clear the name of its founder, Marcus Mosiah Garvey.

The resolution, which may be followed by legal action, is based on evidence indicating Garvey's conviction for mail fraud was a political frame-up, another component in the campaign to destroy him and his worldwide movement.

The resolution petitions the Carter administration to "demonstrate its adherence to the principle of human rights and dignity" by correcting a great injustice perpetrated on black people.

"We are thoroughly convinced that Garvey was framed and jailed unjustly," said Thomas W. Harvey, president general of the UNIA, at his Philadelphia headquarters. "The UNIA calls upon the U.S. government to clear Garvey's name."

In addition to solidarity appeals to the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and all African heads of state, the UNIA convention issued a second resolution demanding "that the life, works, teaching and vision of Marcus Mosiah Garvey be taught to school children in all levels of educational institutions in the world."

Patron saint of black nationalism.

The Jamaican-born Garvey is called the patron saint of black nationalism. His visionary ideas have exerted influence on many black leaders, including Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta, Elijah Muhammad, Stokely Carmichael and Malcolm X.

Founding the Universal Negro Improvement Association in 1914, he headquartered the organization in Harlem when he moved to America in 1916. Garvey's program centered on the redemption of Africa—"Africa for Africans"—based on economic self-sufficiency incorporating international trade between America, the Caribbean and Africa.

"Never before and never since has there been an assembly of black people to match the UNIA convention of 1920," wrote author Theodore Vincent. "Delegates came from 25 countries on four continents—2000 all told—most of them representing the working masses of black people."

During its prime in the '20s, UNIA was said to have a membership in excess of a million blacks, encompassing a broad coalition cutting across the political spectrum. The organization had 3,000 branches across the U.S., Europe, Central



Marcus Garvey in full uniform, riding in a UNIA parade.

and South America, and throughout Africa, with that continent's largest chapter being in South Africa.

Originating the tri-colored red, black and green banner, Garvey's movement bridged the economic and social gamut, encompassing grocery stores, publishing houses, the Black Star steamship line, as well as his African Orthodox Church with its theology of a black God. Most important, Garvey instilled awareness of self. As one historian has noted, "The cornerstone of Garvey's teaching was pride in race... pride in heritage."

The depth of Garvey's penetration into the black masses produced a proportional reaction of resentment in both the white and black establishments. Addressing a session of UNIA's convention, Dr. Tony Martin detailed a government offensive against Garvey that included "all arms of government," big business and civic groups in "collaboration with integrationists" like the NAACP.

Reign of terror.

The subversion of Garvey and UNIA was classic, combining infiltrators, sabotage and sophisticated overt tactics. During the year between his indictment and trial, government agents raided UNIA offices around the country seizing records and

arresting staffers. Following his imprisonment a reign of terror fell on UNIA, with members being fired, beaten, jailed and murdered.

Although hard evidence against him in the mail fraud trial was scant, Garvey received the maximum five-year sentence, convicted on the alleged contents of an empty envelope while his co-defendants were acquitted for lack of evidence. Serving two years in Atlanta's federal prison, his sentence was commuted by President Collidge in 1927 and he was immediately departed.

The domestic attacks on UNIA were paralleled internationally. A Liberian colony scheme was blocked by pressure from the Firestone Rubber Company. In the British colonies Garvey's publications were banned and the movements of himself and his followers were severely restricted. UNIA was repressed in the French territories and was barred from the Belgian Congo. In Rhodesia a black man was jailed for possession of a Garvey magazine.

"An indication of Garvey's strength and power was the fact that he had the governments of the world's greatest powers on the defensive," noted Martin, author of *Race First*, UNIA's official Garvey text. "The imperialists felt threat-

ened by the idea of an emancipated black man. If the black man is emancipated the whole system of economic exploitation will collapse."

UNIA faltered from the external attacks and internal dissension, both legitimate policy differences and personality clashes. Its programs also suffered from lack of technical expertise. In the 1920s UNIA was an idea before its time.

Garvey returned to Jamaica following his deportation, dabbling in politics before moving on to London. His once mighty organization crippled, Garvey remained in Britain, where he died of a stroke in 1940 at the age of 51.

One of Garvey's closest confidants, the 83-year-old Harvey said the significance of Garveyism is that UNIA sought freedom for blacks everywhere. He says the "prophecies of Garvey have come true." Citing its contemporary relevance, Harvey added Garveyism can solve the problems confronting blacks today.

"Be assured that I planted well the seed of Negro or black nationalism which cannot be destroyed even by the foul play that has been meted out to me," Garvey said. "...In death I shall be a terror to the foes of Negro liberty."

Linn Washington Jr is a reporter and columnist with the *Philadelphia Tribune*.

Learning

Continued from page 19.

Jones hasn't sold out to Hollywood. This time he isn't losing control of his dream (he hopes). Jones sold the story to David Averback, a producer he trusts to keep the integrity of the story. As Jones puts it, Averback is (a) local to the Bay Area—Jones can stay close to the production, (b) a teacher—law and social welfare at Berkeley, and (c) handicapped—"I use the word 'crippled,'" Averback says, "because that is the way people think of you."

Another dream.

Jones sold "The Third Wave" to Lear for the money. He sold *The Acorn People* to someone he could trust and stay close to. But he still doesn't have control. He has nothing to say about what happens to the film after national distribu-

tion. If he had his way, he would want national release first, then public access later so that any school, church or non-profit organization could use the film for just mailing costs to raise money—through the Zephyros exchange. That is his next dream.

It might come true. Director John (The *Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman*) Korty is interested in helping Jones do just that with another short story, "Winning." The script is ready for a movie or TV. This one is about a high school basketball team and their coach who learn what winning really is. You tell us, Ron.

Janet Spiegelman is a free lance writer in San Francisco.

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ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

FILM

Light and heavy fare from France

ONE SINGS, THE OTHER DOESN'T

Written and directed by
Agnes Varda
U.S. Distributor, Cinema 5

One Sings, the Other Doesn't, which opened the current New York Film Festival, has a lot to recommend it. The work of Agnes Varda, one of the pioneers of France's "New Wave," it examines the impact of the women's movement on consciousness and lifestyles through the friendship of two admirable, but quite different women.

In her introduction to the film, Varda quotes Simone de Beauvoir: "Women are made, not born." *One Sings, the Other Doesn't* traces the struggles of its two protagonists over a period of 15 years to "create" themselves by achieving satisfactory relationships with men, children, work, and most important—the friendship and support of other women.

Pomme (Valerie Mairesse) is an independent and talented young woman whom we meet first as a square-jawed 17-year-old, disrupting the staid atmosphere of her family with anti-bourgeois quips. Her friendship with Suzanne (Therese Liotard) gives Pomme a first-hand look at the oppression under which the mass of women labor. Suzanne is careworn at 22 by children, poverty and the suicidal photographer with whom she lives. Pomme helps her arrange for an abortion, an act that radicalizes the younger woman and alters the course of her life.

After losing sight of one another for ten years, Pomme and Suzanne meet at the 1972 trial that sparked the movement to change France's antiquated abortion laws. Pomme is now a singer and guiding spirit of a feminist rock group. Suzanne, after grueling years of poverty on her parents' farm, working in factories, and teaching herself to type on a borrowed machine in a cold, straw-floored shed, has become the director of a family planning center which she founded in the south of France.

Rock on Engels!

The film moves back and forth between the private domain of their friendship and the larger arena of the lives of the two protagonists. Varda juxtaposes glimpses of work—a rehearsal room, a consciousness raising group, performing on street corners, assembling boxes in a factory—with glimpses of their relationships with men—a married pediatrician whom Suzanne initially rejects and ultimately marries; an Iranian whom Pomme follows to Iran, marries and leaves.

What is particularly refreshing in Varda's handling of this material is the way she fuses narrative and ideology. On the one hand, for example, she uses the rock group to project explicit feminist theory. (In one of her songs, Pomme quotes Engels on the family: "Man is the bourgeois; woman is the proletarian.") On the other hand, Varda casts in the role of Darius, the man in Pomme's life, an actor who is not only immensely attractive, but who also appears to give wholehearted support to her professional aspirations.

Maternity is treated as an integral part of womanhood. Pomme returns to France and Suzanne to have her first child. She allows Darius to return to Iran with their infant son, but only after he agrees to impregnate her with a second child who will remain with her in France. Suzanne faces a different problem: that of an adolescent daughter on the brink of adulthood, who must now find her own balance between sexuality and individual autonomy.

Socialist realism.

On a certain level, *One Sings, the Other Doesn't* comes off as an exercise in socialist realism: a past of struggle yields to an only partly justified affirmation of future success. But even on this basis, and despite the appeal of sentiments and scenes that speak directly to the experiences of contemporary women, the impact of the film is weakened by its Gallic "charm"—reminiscent of Truffaut at his cheeriest.



Valerie Mairesse as Pomme and Therese Liotard as Suzanne.

...an exercise in socialist realism—a past of struggle yields to an only partly justified affirmation of future success.

The attractiveness of all the characters without exception mitigates against their credibility. The second half of the narrative, with its concentration on domestic tragedies and joys, veers in the direction of soap opera. And the idyllic optimism of the closing scenes defuses the film's feminist message.

Also, American audiences may find Varda's acceptance of the Pill as a universal panacea not only simplistic but scientifically

questionable.

Such criticisms would be relatively minor if the film had not opened to a critical ballyhoo that praised it in terms out of keeping with its actual achievement. One New York critic, who found in the film "meaning, consciousness and art," went so far as to declare it "absolutely overwhelming in its treatment of women as human beings." As with blacks in the '60s, it seems that different critical standards are being applied to works by and about women.

Overpraise is the most insidious form of condescension.

—Lynn Garafola

Lynn Garafola reviews regularly for *In These Times*.

PARDON MON AFFAIRE

Directed by Yves Robert
Starring Jean Rochefort, Claude Brasseur, Daniele Delorme
Gaumont Productions, Rated PG

No apologies necessary for *Pardon Mon Affaire*, a film which takes the run-down situation of a middle-aged man's first extramarital fling and revitalizes it with intelligence and humor.

Jean Rochefort plays the straying husband whose infatuation with a Lady in Red plunges him into a series of frustrated liaisons that find him always in the wrong place at the wrong time with the wrong person. He is spurred on to infidelity by three who are also involved in various affairs of their own. One is a playboy whose wife has left him. One is a young doctor who rushes to the side of his senior partner's wife whenever the latter is called away on a serious case ("Double amputation? Are you sure? I'll be right over!"). The third, surprisingly, is a closet homosexual, who gives an interesting twist to all that old male buddy-buddy stuff.

The anxious husband vacillates between weakening loyalty to home life and an overwhelming attraction to the mysterious female who is both unattainable and constantly present as the poster girl for his bank's loan advertisements. Meanwhile, his

wife, a "mature" coed, is pursued by a piggily amorous 17-year-old fellow student, who requires a lot of strong rejection before being convinced that he is less than irresistible.

After an extended series of mishaps, the would-be lovers finally enjoy a one-night stand that lasts until the girl's husband makes an unexpected return, and Rochefort, in bathrobe, is forced onto a fifth-story window ledge, where he vainly tries to look nonchalant but is (naturally) mistaken for a potential suicide.

The man who has taken every precaution to be discreet finds himself surrounded by a mass of onlookers, screaming fire engines and a cluster of reporters including a TV cameraman. "Gee, that looks like Daddy," his daughter observes while watching the tube at home.

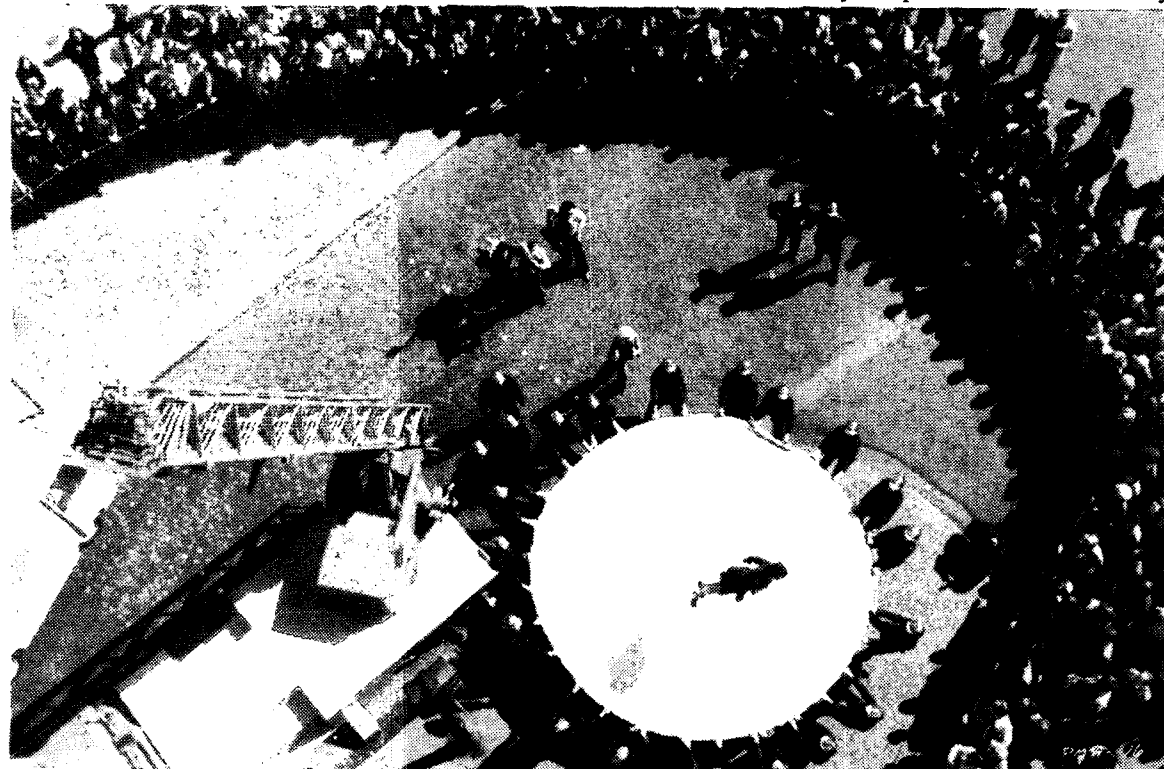
Daniele Delorme and Claude Brasseur are particularly good as the loyal wife and deserted gigolo, and Jean Rochefort was made for his part. On his perfectly straight face an uncanny variety of feelings (love, fear and hate) are all expressed in the same way. ("My face was swollen with desire," he recalls, when by appearances he might just as well have been reading a subway ad for the 10th time.)

Pardon Mon Affaire is not a significant comment on bourgeois mores; it is easy to take because it is kept consistently light. Director Yves Robert (who made the delightful *Tall Blond Man with One Black Shoe*) respects his audience's intelligence, sparing us the tedious soul-searching and introspective on-screen sermonizing that frequently mars comedies on this theme. Actions speak louder than words, and Robert's characters' actions speak very well, allowing the viewers to figure things out for themselves.

Pardon Mon Affaire is what it is meant to be: a witty and amusing look at how one meek, middle-aged businessman achieves a "night to go down in history."

—P. Hertel

P. Hertel reviews films regularly for *In These Times*.



Jean Rochefort, in Yves Robert's *Pardon Mon Affaire*, making a discreet exit from a one-night stand with romance.

FILM

Saga of Seabrook scores

THE LAST RESORT
Green Mountain Post Films

The Last Resort, which was named Best Political Film at the 21st San Francisco International Film Festival, is an earnest and effective account of the two-year effort to block construction of a nuclear power plant in Seabrook, N.H. It is flawed in ways most such films are flawed: by poor sound, rough transitions, a tendency to repeat arguments, and occasionally by confusing continuity. But its strengths more than offset its weaknesses.

One of these strengths is rooted in the movement it is reporting: a new approach to civil disobedience that aims at—and sometimes succeeds in—turning around the minds of people cast by their professions in the role of adversaries.

The other notable strength is the film's use of highly articulate individuals, of which there seem to be a lot in the Seabrook community. When they are speaking (and when the sound is clear), abstractions becomes personal.

Short, stocky, feisty, old Tony Santasucci, whose land lies in an "exclusion zone" required by the plant, says: "We have beautiful water; we have beautiful air. We really don't need a monster like that. I may be small, but I don't back down."

Kristin Conrad, employment counselor: "The people of Seabrook voted...that they didn't want the power plant built, and Public Service Company has completely ignored that vote."

Guy Chichester, carpenter: "They were just totally, openly, arrogantly unheeding of the words that the people of New Hampshire were saying."

"They" is represented in the

film by Meldrim Thomson, governor of New Hampshire, and William Tallman, president of the private Public Service Company. Better heavies could not have been hired from a casting agency.

Thomson juts his jaw at the camera and says he does "not see any necessity of creating re-

and if we can handle sharks, I'm sure we can handle nuclear energy."

When the question of radioactive waste from the plant is raised, Tallman takes over for the governor. "The handling of waste is a non-problem," he says irritably. "What we need to do is to decide how to do it and get on with



Photos from "The Last Resort"

Above: Governor Meldrim Thomson and William Tallman, president of Public Service Co.

else are you going to win?"

Chichester on employment and alternative energy: "If you took the \$2 billion that it would cost to build a modern nuclear power plant and divided it into the 200,000 households in the state of New Hampshire, that's enough money to put a solar-powered space-heating system, a solar-powered domestic hot water system, and a wind-driven electric generator on every single household. That's where the jobs are."

There is some heartening (and to us, new) information on successful resistance movements in other countries: the fleet of fishing boats that stalled the maiden voyage of Japan's first nuclear-powered ship; the movement in Wyhl, West Germany, that succeeded in reversing the decision to build a nuclear power plant there.

The disheartening end of the Seabrook story is not included, and to that extent, the film may be "misleading." But it is eminently worth showing to those who are planning to lead more successful actions in the future.

—J.S.

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"SKOKIE—A LESSON IN COM-BATTING NAZIS" by Sam Pevzner is the lead article in the October issue of JEWISH CURRENTS. Also an editorial "Stonewalling in the Middle East" and "Readers' Forum on Israel." Concluding section of Morris U. Schappes' detailed analysis of Howe's "World of Our Fathers." All this and more in the October issue JEWISH CURRENTS. Single copy 60¢. Subscription \$7.50 yearly U.S. Jewish Currents, Dept. T, 22 East 17 St., NYC 10003. For both parts of Schappes' article in Sept. and Oct. issues send \$1.00—Special—just published—A TEN YEAR HARVEST, Third Jewish Currents Reader, 1966-1977, 300 pp. paperback \$3.75.

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Records



Joe Venuti on violin.

'S WONDERFUL: Four Giants of Swing

Flying Fish Records

Swing music was fathered in the 1920s by musician/composers like Fletcher Henderson, Duke Ellington, Fats Waller and Earl Hines. By the mid-'30s it had been popularized by Benny Goodman's small combo (with keyboard arrangements created by Henderson), and was influencing popular tastes (e.g., the big band sound), eventually reaching out and inspiring a jazzy amalgamation called country swing, made famous throughout the Southwest by Bob Willis and his Texas Playboys.

Swing was for dancing and moving, expressing an energy and exuberance much appreciated during the Depression years.

With 'S Wonderful, Flying Fish, a small independent Chicago label, has brought together four key swing musicians in a fine collaborative effort. The resulting album is significant historically

and musically, featuring Joe Venuti on violin, Jethro Burns on mandolin, Eldon Shamblin on guitar, and Curley Chalker on pedal steel guitar.

Though this sounds like unusual instrumentation for a jazz set, the four featured players, in combination with a precision rhythm section, produce great swing from the first song ("Take the A Train") to the last ("Caravan").

Venuti, now in his 80s, remains one of jazz's great violinists. His phrasing, timing and tone have become more subtle with age, and his energetic interpretations of composers like Ellington and Gershwin create a focal point for the band's direction.

Jethro Burns, best known for his partnership in the country-comedy duo Homer and Jethro (seen on "The Beverly Hillbillies"), reveals a technical virtuosity and musical sophistication that goes far beyond the modest demands and low-brow humor of his work with H&J.

Guitarist Shamblin's roots go back to his work as an arranger for Wills' Texas Playboys, and no doubt he had a hand in creating these charts. With Curley Chalker's steel guitar reinforcing the country sound, the arrangements leave plenty of room for each individual while maintaining intricate harmonic and melodic lines that clearly date the country swingers of the '40s and '50s without resorting to modern electrical gimmickry.

The music is swing, the flavor is country, but the result is unmistakably jazz.

Country, hillbilly and jazz music are styles that were created and refined in this country, musical movements that can be declared to be essentially American. When top musicians from these fields get together and make music as interesting as this, it says a lot not just about the individuals, but also their commitment to their art and the plastic quality of the compositions themselves.

The band sounds so cohesive it's hard to imagine that this music came out of a first meeting. It should inspire others to check out swing in all its manifestations, to see how black jazz ended up creating musical ideas in all spectrums of American popular music.

Flying Fish Records is committed to preserving and exposing key American styles and musicians. Anyone interested in country, folk and western music should check out their modest but innovative catalog.

—Joe Heumann

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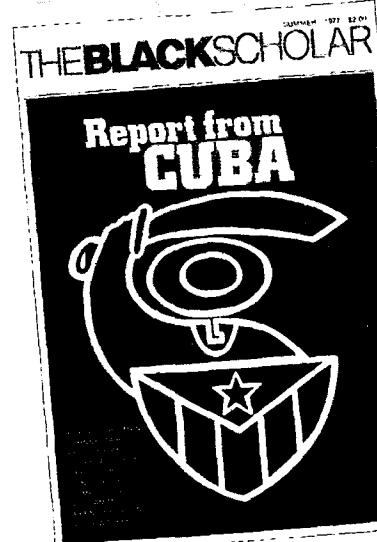


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